

THE
L I F E
And Strange Surprising
ADVENTURES
O F

ROBINSON CRUSOE,
Of *York*, MARINER: R

Who lived Eight and Twenty Years all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of *America*, near the Mouth of the Great River *Oroonoque*; having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but Himself.

With an ACCOUNT how he was at last as strangely delivered by PYRATES.

Written by HIMSELF.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

L O N D O N,

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

I*F ever the story of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, and were acceptable when published, the editor of this account thinks this will be so.*

The wonders of this man's life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the life of one man being scarce capable of a greater variety.

The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them; viz. to the in-

THE PREFACE.

struction of others, by this example, and to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of circumstances, let them happen how they will.

The editor believes the thing to be a just history of facts; neither is there any appearance of fiction in it: And however thinks, because all such things are disputed, that the improvement of it, as well to the diversion, as to the instruction of the reader, will be the same; and as such, he thinks, without farther compliment to the world, he does them a great service in the publication.



T H E
L I F E and A D V E N T U R E S
O F
R O B I N S O N C R U S O E.

I Was born at *York*, in the year 1632, of a reputable family. My father was a native of *Bremen*, who by merchandising at *Hull* for some time gained a very plentiful fortune. He married my mother at *York*, who received her first breath in that country; and as her maiden name was *Robinson*, I was called *Robinson Kreutznaer*; which not being easily pronounced in the *English* tongue, we are commonly known by the name of *Crusoe*.

I was the youngest of three brothers. The eldest was a lieutenant-colonel in *Lockhart's* regiment, but slain by the *Spaniards*: what became of the other, I could never learn.

No charge nor pains were wanting in my education. My father designed me for the law; yet nothing

would serve me, but I must go to sea, both against the will of my father, the tears of my mother, and the intreaties of friends. One morning my father expostulated very warmly with me. What reason, says he, have you to leave your native country, where there must be a more certain prospect of content and happiness, to enter into a wandering condition of uneasiness and uncertainty? He recommended to me *Agur's* wish, *Neither to desire poverty nor riches*; that a middle state of life was the most happy; and that the high towering thoughts of raising our condition by wandering abroad, were surrounded with misery and danger, and often ended with confusion and disappointment. I intreat you, nay I command you, (*says he*) to desist from these intentions. Consider your eldest brother, who laid down his life for his honour, or rather lost it for his disobedience to my will. If you will go, *added he*, my prayers shall however be offered for your preservation; but a time may come, when, desolate, oppressed, or forsaken, you may wish you had taken your poor despised father's counsel.-----He pronounced these words with such a moving and paternal eloquence, while floods of tears ran down his aged cheeks, that it seemed to stem the torrent of my resolutions. But this soon wore off, and a little after I informed my mother, that I could not settle to any business, my resolutions were so strong to see the world; and begged she would gain my father's consent only to go one voyage; which if it did not prove prosperous, I would never attempt a second. But my desire was as vain as my folly in asking. My mother passionately expressed her dislike of this proposal, tel-

ling me, 'That as she saw I was bent upon my own
'destruction, contrary to their will and my duty, she
'would say no more, but leave me to myself to do what-
'soever I pleased.'

I was then, I think, nineteen years old, when one
time being at *Hull*, I met a school-fellow of mine, going
along with his father, who was master of a ship, to
London; and acquainting him with my wandering de-
sires, he assured me of a free passage, and a plentiful
share of what was necessary. Thus without imploring
a blessing, or taking farewell of my parents, I took ship-
ping on the first of *September* 1651. We set sail soon
after; and our ship had scarce left the *Humber* astern,
when there arose so violent a storm, that, being ex-
tremely sea-sick, I concluded the judgments of God de-
servedly followed me for my disobedience to my dear
parents. It was then I called to mind the good advice
of my father; how easy and comfortable was a middle
state of life; and I firmly resolved, if it pleased God
to set me on dry land once more, I would return to my
parents, implore their forgiveness, and bid a final adieu
to my wandering inclinations.

Such were my thoughts while the storm continued;
but these good resolutions decreased with the danger;
more especially, when my companion came to me, clap-
ping me on the shoulder: *What, Bob!* said he, *sure*
you was not frightened last night with scarce a cap-full
of wind?-----And do you, cry'd I, call such a via-
lent storm a cap-full of wind? A storm, you fool you,
said he, *this is nothing; a good ship and sea-room always*
baffles such a foolish squawl of wind as that: But you're
a fresh-water sailor: Come, boy, turn out, see what fine

weather we have now, and a good bowl of punch will drown all your past sorrows. In short, the punch was made, I was drunk, and in one night's time drowned both my repentance and my good resolutions, forgetting entirely the vows and promises I made in my distress: and whenever any reflexions would return on me, what by company, and what by drinking, I soon mastered those fits, as I deridingly called them. But this only made way for another trial, whereby I could not but see how much I-was beholden to kind providence.

Upon the sixth day we came to an anchor in *Harwich* road, where we lay wind-bound with some *Newcastle* ships; and there being good anchorage, and our cables sound, the seamen forgot their late toil and danger, and spent the time as merry as if they had been on shore. But on the eighth day there arose a brisk gale of wind, which prevented our tiding it up the river, and still increasing, our ship rode forecastle in, and shipped several large seas.

It was not long before horror seized the seamen themselves, and I heard the master express this melancholy ejaculation, *Lord, have mercy upon us, we shall be all lost and undone!* For my part, sick unto death, I kept my cabin, till the universal and terribly dreadful apprehensions of our speedy fate, made me get upon deck: and there I was afrighted indeed. The sea went mountains high: I could see nothing but distress around us; two ships had cut their masts on board, and another was foundered: two more that had lost their anchors, were forced out to the mercy of the ocean; and to save our lives, we were forced to cut our foremast and mainmast quite away.

Who is there so ignorant as not to judge of my dreadful condition? I was but a fresh-water sailor, and therefore it seemed more terrible. Our ship was very good, but over-loaded; which made the sailors often cry out, *She would founder*: Words I then was ignorant of! All this while the storm continuing, and rather increasing, the master and the more sober part of his men went to prayers, expecting death every moment. In the middle of the night, one cried out, *We had sprung a leak*; another, *That there was four foot water in the hold*. I was just ready to expire with fear, when immediately all hands were called to the pump; and the men forced me also in that extremity to share with them in their labour. While thus employed, the master espying some light colliers, fired a gun as a signal of distress; and I not understanding what it meant, and thinking that either the ship broke, or some dreadful thing happened, fell into a swoon. Even in that common condition of wo, nobody minded me, excepting to thrust me aside with their feet, thinking me dead, and it was a great while before I recovered.

Happy it was for us, when, upon the signal given, they ventured out their boat to save our lives. All our pumping had been in vain, and vain had all our attempts been, had they not come to our ship's side, and our men cast them a rope over the stern with a buoy to it, which after great labour they got hold of, and we hal-ling them to us, got into their boat, and left our ship, which we perceived sink within less than a quarter of an hour; and thus I learned what was meant by *Foundering at sea*. And now the men incessantly laboured

to recover their own ship, but the sea ran so high, and the wind blew so hard, that they thought it convenient to hale within shore; which with great difficulty and danger at last we happily effected, landing at a place called *Cromer*, not far from *Winterton* light-house; from whence we all walked to *Yarmouth*, where, as objects of pity, many good people furnished us with necessities to carry us either to *Hull* or *London*.

Strange, that after all this, like the prodigal son, I did not return to my father; who, hearing of the ship's calamity, for a long time thought me intombed in the deep. No doubt but I should have *shared in his fatted calf*, as the scripture expresseth it: but my ill fate still pushed me on, in spite of the powerful convictions of reason and conscience.

When we had been at *Yarmouth* three days, I met my old companion, who had given me the invitation to go on board along with his father. His behaviour and speech was altered, and in a melancholy manner asked me how I did, telling his father who I was, and how I had made this voyage for a trial only to proceed farther abroad. Upon which the old gentleman turning to me gravely, said, 'Young man, you ought never to go to sea any more, but to take this for a certain sign that you will never prosper in a seafaring condition.' Sir, answered I, *will you take the same resolution?* It is a different case, *said he*, it is my calling, and consequently my duty; but as you have made this voyage for a trial, you see what ill success heaven has set before your eyes; and perhaps our miseries have been on your account, like *Jonah* in the ship of *Tarsish*. But pray, what are you, and on what

‘ account did you go to sea ?’ Upon which I very freely declared my whole story ; at the end of which he made this exclamation. Ye sacred powers ! what had I committed, that such a wretch should enter into my ship, to heap upon me such a deluge of miseries ! But soon recollecting his passions, ‘ Young man, *said he*, if you do not go back, depend upon it, where-ever you go, you will meet with disasters and disappointments ‘ till your father’s words are fulfilled upon you.’ And so we parted.

I thought at first to return home ; but shame opposed that good motion, as thinking I should be laughed at by my neighbours and acquaintance. So strange is the nature of youth, who are not ashamed to sin, but yet ashamed to repent ; and so far from being ashamed of those actions for which they may be accounted fools, they think it folly to return to their duty, which is the principal mark of wisdom. In short, I travelled up to *London*, resolving upon a voyage ; and a voyage I soon heard of, by my acquaintance with a captain who took a fancy to me, to go to the coast of *Guinea*. Having some money, and appearing like a gentleman, I went on board not as a common sailor or foremast-man ; nay, the commander agreed I should go that voyage with him without any expence ; that I should be his mess-mate and companion ; and I was very welcome to carry any thing with me, and make the best merchandise I could.

I blessed my happy fortune, and humbly thanked my captain for this offer ; and acquainting my friends in *Yorkshire*, forty pounds were sent me, the greatest part of which my dear father and mother contributed to ; with

which I bought toys and trifles, as the captain directed me. My captain also learned me navigation, how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and led me into the knowledge of several useful branches of the mathematics. And indeed this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant; for I brought home 5 pounds 9 ounces of gold dust for my adventure, which produced, at my return to *London*, almost three hundred pounds. But, in this voyage, I was extremely sick, being thrown into a violent calenture through excessive heat, trading upon the coast from the latitude of fifteen degrees north, even to the line itself.

But alas! my dear friend the captain soon departed this life after his arrival. This was a sensible grief to me; yet I resolved to go another voyage with his mate, who had now got command of the ship. This proved a very unsuccessful one; for though I did not carry quite 1000. of my late acquired wealth, so that I had 2000. left, which I reposed with the captain's widow, who was an honest gentlewoman, yet my misfortunes in this unhappy voyage were very great. For our ship sailing towards the *Canary* islands, we were chased by a *Sallee* rover; and in spite of all the haste we could make, by crouding as much canvass as our yards would spread, or masts carry, the pirate gained upon us, so that we prepared ourselves to fight. They had 18 guns, and we had but 12. About three in the afternoon, there was a desperate engagement, wherein many were killed and wounded on both sides; but finding ourselves overpowered with numbers, our ship disabled, and ourselves too impotent to have the least hopes of success, we were forced to surrender, and accordingly were all carried

prisoners into the port of *Sallee*. Our men were sent to the emperor's court to be sold there; but the pirate captain taking notice of me, kept me to be his own slave.

In this condition I thought myself the most miserable creature on earth, and the prophecy of my father came afresh into my thoughts. However, my condition was better than I thought it to be, as will soon appear. Some hopes indeed I had, that my new patron would go to sea again, where he might be taken by a *Spanish* or *Portuguese* man of war, and then I should be set at liberty. But in this I was mistaken; for he never took me with him, but left me to look after his little garden, and do the drudgery of his house; and when he returned from sea, would make me lie in the cabin, and look after the ship. I had no one that I could communicate my thoughts to, which were continually meditating my escape; no *Englishman*, *Irishman*, or *Scotsman* here but myself; and for two years I could see nothing practicable, but only pleased myself with the imagination.

After some length of time, my patron, as I found, grew so poor, that he could not fit out his ship as usual: and then he used constantly, once or twice a-week, if the weather was fair, to go out a-fishing, taking me and a young *Moreisco* boy to row the boat: and so much pleased was he with me for my dexterity in catching the fish, that he would often send me with a *Moor*, who was one of his kinsmen, and the *Moreisco* youth, to catch a dish of fish for him.

One morning, as we were at the sport, there arose such a thick fog, that we lost sight of the shore: and

rowing we knew not which way, we laboured all the night, and in the morning found ourselves in the ocean, two leagues from land. However, we attained there at length, and made the greater haste, because our stomachs were exceeding sharp and hungry. In order to prevent such disasters for the future, my patron ordered a carpenter to build a little state-room or cabin in the middle of the long boat, with a place behind it to steer and hale home the main-sheet, with other conveniencies to keep him from the weather, as also lockers to put in all manner of provisions, with a handsome shoulder of mutton sail, gibing over the cabin.

In this he frequently took us out a-fishing; and one time inviting two or three persons of distinction to go with him, made provision extraordinary, providing also three fuses with powder and shot, that they might have some sport at fowling along the sea-coast. The next morning the boat was made clean, her ancient and pendants out, and every thing ready; but their minds altering, my patron ordered us to go a-fishing, for that his guests would certainly sup with him that night.

And now I began to think of my deliverance indeed. In order to this I persuaded the *Moor* to get some provisions on board, as not daring to meddle with our patron's; and he taking my advice, we stored ourselves with *Rusk* biscuit, and three jars of water. Besides, I privately conveyed into the boat a bottle of brandy, some twine, thread, a hammer, hatchet, and a saw; and in particular some bees wax, which was a great comfort to me, and served to make candles. I then persuaded *Muley* (for so the *Moor* was called) to procure some powder and shot, pretending to kill *sea-curlieus*, which

he innocently and readily agreed to. In short, being provided with all things necessary, we sailed out, resolving for my own part to make my escape though it should cost me my life.

When we had passed the castle, we fell to fishing ; but though I knew there was a bite, I dissembled the matter in order to put further out to sea. Accordingly we ran a league further ; when giving the boy the helm, and pretending to stoop for something, I seized *Muley* by surprise, and threw him overboard. As he was an excellent swimmer, he soon arose, and made towards the boat ; upon which I took out a fusée, and presented it at him : ‘ *Muley*, said I, I never yet designed to do you any harm, and seek nothing now but my redemption. I know you are able enough to swim to shore, and save your life ; but if you are resolved to follow me, to the endangering of mine, the very moment you proceed I will shoot you through the head.’ The harmless creature, at these words, turned himself from me, and I make no doubt got safe to land. Then turning to the boy *Xury*, I perceived he trembled at the action ; but I put him out of all fear, telling him, that if he would be true and faithful to me, I would do well by him. ‘ And therefore, said I, you must stroke your face to be faithful, and, as the *Turks* have learned you, swear by *Mahomet*, and the beard of your father, or else I will throw you into the sea also.’ So innocent did the child then look, and with such an obliging smile consented, that I readily believed him, and from that day forward began to love him entirely.

We then pursued our voyage ; and lest they should think me gone to the *Streights* mouth, I kept to the

Southward to the truly *Barbarian* coast ; but in the dusk of the evening, I changed my course, and steered directly *S.* and by *E.* that I might keep near the shore ; and having a fresh gale of wind, with a pleasant smooth sea, by three o'clock next day I was 150 miles beyond the Emperor of *Morocco's* dominions. Yet still having the dreadful apprehension of being retaken, I continued sailing for five days successively, till such time as the wind shifting to the southward, made me conclude, that if any vessel was in chace of me, they would proceed no farther. After so much fatigue and thought, I anchored at the mouth of a little river, I knew not what or where ; neither did I then see any people. What I principally wanted was fresh water ; and I was resolved about the dusk to swim ashore. But no sooner did the gloomy clouds of night begin to succeed the declining day, when we heard such barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures, that one might have thought the very strangest monsters of nature, or infernal spirits, had their residence there. Poor *Xury*, almost dead with fear, intreated me not to go on shore that night. ' Supposing I don't, *Xury*, said I, and in the morning we should see men who are worse than those we fear, what then ? O den me may give dem ' de shoot-gun, replied *Xury* laughing, and de gun make ' dem all run away.' The wit, and broken *English*, which the boy had learned among the captives of our nation, pleased me entirely ; and to add to his cheerfulness, I gave him a dram of the bottle. We could get but little sleep all the night, for those terrible howlings they made ; and indeed we were both very much affrighted, when by the rollings of the water, and other

tokens, we justly concluded one of those monsters made towards our boat. I could not see it till it came within two oars length, when taking my fusée, I let fly at him. Whether I hit him or no, I cannot tell; but he made towards the shore, and the noise of my gun increased the stupendous noise of the monsters.

The next morning I was resolved to go on shore to get fresh water, and venture my life among beasts or savages, should either attack me. Xury said, he would take one of the jars, and bring me some. I asked him why he would go, and not I? The poor boy answered, *If wild mans come, they eat me, you go way.* A mind scarcely now to be imitated, so contrary to *self-preservation*, the most powerful law of nature! This indeed increased my affection to the child. *Well, dear Xury,* said I, *we will both go ashore, both eat wild mans, and they shall eat neither of us.* So giving Xury a piece of *Rusk* bread to eat, and a dram, we waded ashore, carrying nothing with us but our arms and two jars for water. I did not go out of sight of the boat, as dreading the savages coming down the river in their canoes. But the boy seeing a low descent or vale about a mile in the country, he wandered to it; and then running back to me with great precipitation, I thought he was pursued by some savage or wild beast; upon which I approached, resolving to perish or protect him from danger. As he came nearer to me, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature he had shot like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however, we were glad of it, for it proved wholesome and nourishing meat; but what added to our joy was, my boy assured me there was plenty of water, and that he *see*

no wild mans. And greater still was our comfort, when we found fresh water in the creek where we were when the tide was out, without going so far up into the country.

In this place I began to consider that the *Canary* and *Cape de Verd* islands lay not far off; but having no instrument, I knew not what latitude, or when to stand off to sea for them; yet my hopes were, I should meet some of the *English* trading vessels, who would relieve and take us in.

The place I was in was no doubt that wild country, inhabited only by a few, that lies between the Emperor of *Morocco's* dominions and the *Negroes*. It is filled with wild beasts, and the *Moors* use it for hunting chiefly. From this place I thought I saw the top of the mountain *Teneriffe* in the *Canaries*; which made me try twice to attain it; but as often was I drove back, and so forced to pursue my fortune along shore.

Early one morning we came to an anchor under a little point of land, but pretty high; and the tide beginning to flow, we lay ready to go further in. But *Xury*, whose youthful and penetrating eyes were sharper than mine, in a soft tone, desired me to keep far from land, lest we should be devoured: *For look yonder, meyster, said he, and see de dreadful monster fast asleep on the side of the hill.* Accordingly looking where he pointed, I espied a fearful monster indeed: It was a terrible great lion that lay on shore, covered as it were by a shade of a piece of the hill. *Xury*, said I, *you shall go on shore and kill him.* But the boy looked amazed: *Me kill him, says he, he eat me at one mouth;* meaning one mouthful. Upon which I bid him lie still, and

charging my biggest gun with two slugs, and a good charge of powder, I took the best aim I could to shoot him through the head; but his leg lying over his nose, the slug broke his knee-bone. The lion awaking with the pain got up, but soon fell down, giving the most hideous groan I ever heard: but taking my second piece, I shot him through the head, and then he lay struggling for life. Upon this *Xury* took heart, and desired my leave to go on shore. *Go then*, said I. Upon which taking a little gun in one hand, he swam to shore with the other, and coming close to the lion, put a period to his life, by shooting him again through the head.

But this was spending our ammunition in vain, the flesh not being good to eat. *Xury* was like a champion, and comes on board for a hatchet, to cut off the head of his enemy; but not having strength to perform it, he cut off and brought me a foot. I bethought me however that his skin would be of use. This work cost *Xury* and me a whole-day; when spreading it on the top of our cabin, the hot beams of the sun effectually dried it in two days time, and it afterwards served me for a bed to lie on.

And now we sailed *southerly*, living sparingly on our provisions, and went no oftener on shore than we were obliged for fresh water. My design was to make the river *Gambia* or *Senegal*, or any where about the *Cape de Verd*, in hopes to meet some *European* ship. If providence did not so favour me, my next course was to seek for the islands, or lose my life among the *Negroes*. And in a word, I put my whole stress upon this: *Either that I must meet with some ship, or certainly perish.*

One day we were sailing along, we saw people stand on the shore looking at us; we could also perceive they were black and stark naked. I was inclined to go on shore; but *Xury* cried, *No, no*; however I approached nearer, and I found they run along the shore by me a good way. They had no weapons in their hands, except one, who held a long stick, which *Xury* told me was a lance, with which they could kill at a great distance. I talked to them by signs, and made them sensible I wanted something to eat; they beckoned to me to stop my boat, while two of them ran up into the country, and in less than half an hour came back, and brought with them two pieces of dry flesh, and some corn, which we kindly accepted; and to prevent any fears on either side, they brought the food to the shore, laid it down, then went and stood a great way off, till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

But while we were returning thanks to them, being all we could afford, two mighty creatures came from the mountains, one as it were pursuing the other with great fury, which we were the rather inclined to believe, as they seldom appear but in the night; and both these swiftly passing by the *Negroes*, jumped into the sea, wantonly swimming about, as though the diversion of the waters had put a stop to their fierceness. At last, one of them coming nearer to my boat than I expected or desired, I shot him directly through the head; upon which he sunk immediately, yet rising again, would have willingly made to the shore; but, between the wound and the stragling of the water, he died before he could reach it.

It is impossible to express the consternation the poor

Negroes were in at the firing my gun ; much less can I mention their surprise, when they perceived the creature to be slain by it. I made signs to them to draw near it with a rope, and then gave it to them to hale on shore. It was a beautiful leopard, which made me desire its skin ; and the *Negroes* seeming to covet the carcass, I freely gave it to them. As for the other leopard, it made to shore, and ran with a prodigious swiftness out of sight. The *Negroes* having kindly furnished me with water, and with what roots and grains their country afforded, I took my leave, and after eleven days sail, came in sight of the *Cape de Verd*, and those islands called by its name. But the great distance I was from it, and fearing contrary winds would prevent my reaching them, I began to grow melancholy and dejected, when, upon a sudden, *Xury* cried out, *Master, master, a ship with a sail!* and looked as affrighted, as if it was his master's ship sent in search of us. But I soon discovered she was a *Portuguese* ship, as I thought, bound to the coast of *Guinea*, for *Negroes*. Upon which I strove for life to come up to them. But vain had it been, if through their perspective glasses they had not perceived me, and shortened their sail to let me come up. Encouraged at this, I set up my patron's ancient, and fired a gun, both as signals of distress; upon which they very kindly lay to, so that in three hours time I came up with them. They spoke to me in *Portuguese*, *Spanish*, and *French*, but neither of these did I understand; till at length a *Scots* sailor called, and then I told him I was an *Englishman*, who had escaped from the *Moors* at *Sallee*; upon which they took me kindly on board, with all my effects.

Surely none can express the inconceivable joy I felt at this happy deliverance! who from being a late miserable and forlorn creature, was not only relieved, but in favour with the master of the ship, to whom, in return for my deliverance, I offered all I had. 'God forbid,' *said he*, that I should take any thing from you. 'Every thing shall be delivered to you when you come to *Brasil*. If I have saved your life, it is no more than I should expect to receive myself from any other, when, in the same circumstances, I should happen to meet the like deliverance. And should I take from you what you have, and leave you at *Brasil*, why, this would be only taking away a life I have given. My charity teaches me better. Those effects you have will support you there, and provide you a passage home again.' And indeed he acted with the strictest justice in what he did, taking my things into his possession, and giving me an exact inventory, even to my earthen jars. He bought my boat of me for the ship's use, giving me a note of eighty pieces of eight, payable at *Brasil*; and if any body offered more, he would make it up. He also gave me 60 pieces for my boy *Xury*. It was with great reluctance I was prevailed upon to sell the child's liberty, who had served me so faithfully: but the boy was willing himself: and it was agreed, that after ten years he should be made free, upon his renouncing *Mahometism*, and embracing Christianity.

Having a pleasant voyage to the *Brasils*, we arrived in the *Bay de Todes los Santos*, or *All-Saints Bay*, in twenty-two days after. And there I cannot forget the generous treatment of the captain. He would take no-

thing for my passage, gave me 20 ducats for the leopard's skin, and 30 for the lion's. Every thing he caused to be delivered; and what I would sell, he bought. In short, I made about 220 pieces of my cargo; and with this stock I entered once more, as I may say, into the *scene of life*.

Being recommended to an honest planter, I lived with him till such time as I was informed of the manner of their planting and making sugar; and seeing how well they lived, and how suddenly they grew rich, I was filled with a desire to settle among them, and resolved to get my money remitted to me, and to purchase a plantation.

To be brief, I bought a settlement next door to an honest and kind neighbour, born at *Lisbon* of *English* parents, whose plantation joining to mine, we improved it very amicably together. Both our stocks were low, and for two years we planted only for food: but the third year we planted some tobacco, and each of us dressed a large piece of ground the ensuing year for planting canes. But now I found how much I wanted assistance, and repented the loss of my dear boy *Xury*.

Having none to assist me, my father's words came often into my mind; and I used to ask myself, if what I sought was only a middle station of life, why could it not as well be obtained in *England* as here? When I pondered of this with regret, the thoughts of my late deliverance forsook me. I had none to converse with but my neighbours; no work to be done but by my own hands; it often made me say, my condition was like that of a man cast upon a desolate island. So unhappy are we in our reflexions, so forgetful of what

good things we receive ourselves, and so unthankful for our deliverance from those calamities that others endure.

I was in some measure settled, before the captain, who took me up, departed from the *Brazil*. One day I went to him, and told him what stock I had in *London*, desiring his assistance in getting it remitted; to which the good gentleman readily consented, but would only have me send for half my money, lest it should miscarry; which if it did, I might still have the remainder to support me; and so taking letters of procuration from me, bid me trouble myself no farther about it.

And indeed wonderful was his kindness towards me; for he not only procured the money I had drawn for upon my captain's widow, but sent me over a servant with a cargo, proportionable to my condition. He also sent me over tools of all sorts, iron work, and utensils necessary for my plantation, and which proved of the greatest use to me in my business.

Wealth now accumulating on me, and uncommon success crowning my prosperous labours, I might have rested happy in that middle state of life my father had so often recommended; yet nothing would content me, such was my evil genius, but I must leave this happy station, for a foolish ambition in rising; and thus, once more, I cast myself in the deepest gulf of misery that ever poor creature fell into. Having lived four years in *Brazil*, I had not only learned the language, but contracted acquaintance with the most eminent planters, and even the merchants of *St Salvadore*; to whom, once, by way of discourse, having given an account of my two voyages to the coast of *Guinea*, and manner of

trading there for mere trifles, by which we furnish our plantations with *Negroes*, they gave such attention to what I said, that three of them came one morning to me, and told me they had a secret proposal to make. After enjoining me to secrecy, (it being an infringement on the powers of the kings of *Portugal* and *Spain*), they told me they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to *Guinea*, in order to stock the plantation with *Negroes*, which, as they could not be publicly sold, they would divide among them; and if I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part, I should have an equal share of the *Negroes*, without providing any stock. The thing indeed was fair enough, had I been in another condition. But I, born to be my own destroyer, could not resist the proposal, but accepted the offer upon condition of their looking after my plantation. So, making a formal will, I bequeathed my effects to my good friend the captain, as my universal heir; but obliged him to dispose of my effects as directed, one-half of the produce to himself, and the other to be shipped to *England*.

The ship being fitted out, and all things ready, we set sail the first of *September* 1659, being the same day eight year I left my father and mother in *Yorkshire*. We sailed *Northward* upon the coast, in order to gain *Africa*, till we made *Cape Augustine*; from whence going farther in the ocean, out of sight of land, we steered as though we were bound for the isle *Fernand de Noreña*, leaving the islands on the *East*; and then it was we met with a terrible tempest, which continued for twelve days successively, so that the winds carried us wheresoever they pleased. In this perplexity, one of our men died, and

one man and a boy were washed overboard. When the weather cleared up a little, we found ourselves eleven degrees north latitude upon the coast of *Guinea*. Upon this the captain gave reasons for returning; which I opposed, counselling him to stand away for *Barbadoes*, which, as I supposed, might be attained in fifteen days. So altering our course, we sailed *North-west* and by *West*, in order to reach the *Leeward* islands; but a second storm succeeding, drove us to the *Westward*; so that we were justly afraid of falling into the hands of cruel *savages*, or the paws of devouring beasts of prey.

In this great distress, one of our men, early in the morning, cried out, *Land, land*; which he had no sooner cried out, but our ship struck upon a sand, and in a moment the sea broke over her in such a manner, that we expected we should all have perished immediately. We knew nothing where we were, or upon what land we were driven: whether an island or the main, inhabited or not inhabited; and we could not so much as hope that the ship would hold out many minutes, without breaking in pieces, except the wind by a miracle should turn about immediately. While we stood looking at another, expecting death every moment the mate lays hold of the boat, and with the help of the rest got her flung over the ship's side, and getting all into her, being eleven of us, committed ourselves to God's mercy, and the wild sea. And now we saw that this last effort would not be a sufficient protection from death; so high did the sea rise, that it was impossible the boat should live. As to making sail, we had none; neither if we had, could we make use of any. So that

when we had rowed, or rather were driven about a league and a half, a raging wave, like a lofty mountain, came rolling astern of us, and took us with such fury, that at once it over-set the boat. Thus being swallowed up in a moment, we had hardly time to call upon the tremendous name of God; much less to implore, in dying ejaculations, his infinite mercy to receive our departing souls,

Men are generally counted insensible, when struggling in the pains of death; but while I was overwhelmed with water, I had the most dreadful apprehensions imaginable. For the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell, seemed to present themselves before me in these dying agonies, and even small space of time, as it were, between life and death. I was going, I thought, I knew not whither, in a dismal gulf unknown and as yet unperceived, never to behold my friends, nor the light of this world any more! Could I ever have thought of *annihilation*, or a total dissolution of soul as well as body, the gloomy thoughts of having no further being, no knowledge of what we hoped for, but an eternal *quietus*, without life or sense; even that, I say, would have been enough to strike me with horror and confusion! I strove however to the last extremity, while all my companions were overpowered and entombed in the deep; and it was with great difficulty I kept my breath till the wave spent itself, and retiring back, left me on the shore half dead with the water I had taken in. As soon as I got on my feet, I ran as fast as I could, lest another wave should pursue me, and carry me back again. But for all the haste I made, I could not avoid it; for the sea came after me

like a high mountain, or furious enemy; so that my business was to hold my breath, and by raising myself on the water, preserve it by swimming. The next dreadful wave buried me at once twenty or thirty feet deep, but at the same time carried me with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore; when raising myself, I held out as well as possible, till at length the water having spent itself, began to return, at which I struck forward, and feeling ground with my feet, I took to my heels again. Thus being served twice more, I was at last dashed against a piece of a rock, in such a manner as left me senseless; but recovering a little before the return of the wave, which, no doubt, would then have overwhelmed me, I held fast by the rock till those succeeding waves abated; and then fetching another run was overtaken by a small wave, which was soon conquered. But before any more could overtake me, I reached the main land, where clambering up the cliffs of the shore, tired and almost spent, I sat down on the grass, free from the dangers of the foaming ocean.

No tongue can express the ecstasies and transports that my soul felt at this happy deliverance. It was like a reprieve to a dying malefactor, with the halter about his neck, and ready to be turned off. I was wrapt up in contemplation, and often lifted up my hands, with the profoundest humility, to the divine powers, for saving my life, when the rest of my companions were all drowned. And now I began to cast my eyes around, to behold what place I was in, and what I had next to do. I could see no house, nor people: I was wet, yet had no cloaths to shift me:

hungry and thirsty, yet nothing to eat or drink; no weapon to destroy any creature for my sustenance, nor defend myself against devouring beasts; in short, I had nothing but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a box half filled with tobacco. The darksome night coming upon me, increased my fears of being devoured by wild creatures; my mind was plunged in despair, and, having no prospect, as I thought, of life before me, I prepared for another kind of death than what I had lately escaped. I walked about a furlong to see if I could find any fresh water, which I did to my great joy, and taking a *quid* of tobacco to prevent hunger, I got up into a thick bushy tree, and setting myself so that I could not fall, a deep sleep overtook me, and for that night buried my sorrows in a quiet repose.

It was broad day the next morning before I awakened; when I not only perceived the tempest was ceased, but saw the ship driven almost as far as the rock before mentioned, which the waves had dashed me against, and which was about a mile from the place where I was. When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I perceived the ship's boat two miles distant on my right hand, lying on shore, as the waves had cast her. I thought to have got to her, but there being an inlet of water of about half a mile's breadth between it and me, I returned again towards the ship, as hoping to find something for my more immediate subsistence. About noon, when the sea was calm, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of her, it was to my grief I perceived that if we had kept on board, all our lives had been saved. These

thoughts, and my solitude, drew tears from my eyes, though all in vain. So resolving to get to the ship, I stript and leaped into the water; when swimming round her, I was afraid I should not get any thing to lay hold of; but it was my good fortune to espy a small piece of rope hang down by the forechains so low, that, by the help of it, though with great difficulty, I got into the fore-castle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold; her stern was lifted up against a bank, and her head almost to the water. All her quarter, and what was there, were free and dry. The provisions I found in good order, with which I crammed my pockets; and, losing no time, and while I was doing other things; I also found some rum, of which I took a hearty dram; and now I wanted for nothing except a boat, which indeed was all, to carry away what was needful for me.

Necessity occasions quickness of thought. We had several spare yards, a spare top-mast or two, and two or three large spars of wood. With these I fell to work, and flung as many of them over board as I could manage, tying every one of them with a rope that they might not drive away. This done, I went down the ship's side, and tied four of them fast together at both ends in form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them crosswise, I found it would bear me, but not any considerable weight. Upon which I went to work again, cutting a spare topmast into three lengths, adding them to my raft with a great deal of labour and pains. I then considered what I should load it with, it being not able to bear a ponderous burthen.

And this I soon thought of, first laying upon it all the planks and boards I could get; next I lowered down three of the seamens chests, after I had filled them with bread, rice, three *Dutch* cheeses, five pieces of dried goats flesh, and some *European* corn, what little the rats had spared; and for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters, and four or five gallons of rack, which I stowed by themselves. By this time the tide beginning to flow, I perceived my coat, waistcoat, and shirt swim away, which I had left on the shore; as for my linen breeches and stockings, I swam with them on to the ship: But I soon found cloaths enough, though I took no more than I wanted for the present. My eyes were chiefly on tools to work with; and after long search I found out the carpenter's chest, which I got safe down on my raft. I then looked for arms and ammunition, and in the great cabin found two good fowling-pieces, two pistols, several powder-horns filled, a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I likewise found three barrels of powder, two of which were good, but the third had taken water; also two or three broken oars, two saws, an ax, and a hammer. I then put to sea, and in getting to shore, had three encouragements. 1. A smooth calm sea. 2. The tide rising and setting into the shore. 3. The little wind there was blew towards land. After I had sailed about a mile, I found the raft to drive a little distance from the place where I first landed; and then I perceived a little opening of the land, with a strong current of the tide running into it, upon which I kept in the

middle of the stream. But great was my concern, when on a sudden the forepart of my raft ran aground ; so that had I not, with great difficulty, for near half an hour, kept my back straining against the chests to keep my effects in their places, all I had would have gone into the sea. But after some time, the rising of the water caused the raft to float again, and coming up a little river, with land on both sides, I landed in a little cave, as near the mouth as possible, the better to discover a sail, if any such providentially passed that way.

Not far off, I espied a hill of a stupendous height, surrounded with lesser hills about it; and thither I was resolved to go and view the country, that I might see what part was best to fix my habitation in. Accordingly arming myself with a pistol, a fowling-piece, powder and ball, I ascended the mountain. There I perceived I was in an island, encompassed by the sea ; no distant lands to be seen, but scattering rocks that lay to the west ; that it seemed to be a barren place, and, as I thought, inhabited only by wild beasts. I perceived abundance of fowls, but ignorant of what kind, or whether good for nourishment. I shot one of them at my return, which occasioned a confused screaming among other birds ; and I found it, by its colours and beak, to be a kind of a hawk, but its flesh was perfect carrion.

When I came to my raft, I brought my effects on shore, which work spent that day entirely ; and fearing that some cruel beasts might devour me in the night-time while I slept, I made a kind of hut or barricade with the chests and boards I had brought on

shore. That night I slept very comfortably ; and the next morning my thoughts were employed to make a further attempt on the ship, and bring away what necessities I could find, before another storm should break her to pieces. Accordingly I got on board as before, and prepared a second raft, far more nice than the first ; upon which I brought away the carpenter's stores, two or three bags full of nails, a great jack screw, a dozen or two of hatchets, and a grindstone. I also took away several things that belonged to the gunner, particularly two or three iron crows, two barrels of musket-bullets, another fowling-piece, a small quantity of powder, and a large bag full of small shot. Besides these, I took all the men's cloaths I could find, a spare foretop sail, hammock, and some bedding ; and thus compleating my second cargo, I made all the haste to shore I could, fearing some wild beast might destroy what I had there already. But I only found a little wild cat sitting on one of the chests, who not seeming to fear me, or the gun that I presented at her, I threw her a piece of biscuit, which she instantly eat, and departed.

When I had gotten these effects on shore, I went to work, in order to make me a little tent with the sail and some poles which I had cut for that purpose ; and having finished it, what things might be damaged by the weather I brought in, piling all the empty chests and casks in a circle, the better to fortify it against any sudden attempt of man or beast. After this, I blocked up the doors with some boards, and an empty chest turned the long way out. I then charged my gun and pistol ; and laying my bed on the ground, slept as com-

fortably, till next morning, as though I had been in a Christian country.

Now, though I had enough to subsist me a long time, yet despairing of a sudden deliverance, or that both ammunition and provision might be spent before such a thing happened, I coveted as much as I could; and so long as the ship remained in that condition, I daily brought away one necessary or other; particularly the rigging, sails, and cordage, some twine, a barrel of wet powder, some sugar, a barrel of meal, three casks of rum; and, what indeed was most welcome to me, a whole hoghead of bread.

The next time I went, I cut the cables in pieces, carried off a haulser whole, with a great deal of iron work, and made another raft with the mizen and sprit sail yards; but this being so unwieldy, by the too heavy burthen I had upon it, and not being able so dexterously to guide it as the former, both my cargo and I were overturned. For my part, all the damage I sustained was a wet skin; and at low water, after much labour in diving, I got most of the cables, and some pieces of iron,

Thirteen days had I now been in the island, and eleven times on board, bringing away all that was possible; and I believe, had the weather been calm, I should have brought away the whole ship piece by piece. As I was going the twelfth time, the wind began to rise; however, I ventured at low water, and rummaging the cabin, in a locker I found several razors, scissars, and some dozens of knives and forks; and in another 36 pounds in pieces of eight, silver and gold. *Ah! simple vanity, said I, whom this world*

so much dotes on, where is now thy virtue, thy excellency to me? You cannot procure me one thing needful, nor remove me from this desolate island to a place of plenty. One of these knives so meanly esteemed, is to me more preferrable than all this heap. E'en therefore remain where thou art, to sink in the deep, as unregarded even as a creature whose life is not worth preserving. Yet, after all this exclamation, I wrapt it up in a piece of canvass, and began to think of making another raft; but I soon perceived the wind begin to arise, a fresh gale blowing from the shore, and the sky overcast with clouds and darkness. So thinking a raft to be in vain, I let myself into the water with what things I had about me; and it was with much difficulty I got ashore, and soon after it blew a fearful storm.

That night I slept very contentedly in my little tent, surrounded with all my effects; but when I looked out in the morning, no more ship was to be seen. This much surprised me for the present: yet when I considered I had lost no time, abated no pains, and had got every thing useful out of her, I comforted myself in the best manner, and entirely submitted to the will of Providence.

My next thoughts were, how I should defend and secure myself from savages and wild beasts, if any such were in the island. At one time I thought of digging a cave; at another, I was for erecting a tent; and, at length I resolved to do both: The manner or form of which, will not, I hope, be unpleasing to describe.

When I considered the ground where I was; that it was moorish, and had no fresh water near it; my resolutions were to search for a soil healthy and well wa-

tered, where I might not only be sheltered from the sun's scorching heat, but be more conveniently situated, as well to be secured from wild men, and beasts of prey, as more easily to discover any distant sail, should it ever so happen.

And indeed it was not long before I had my desire. I found a little plain near a rising hill, the front towards which being as steep as an house-side, nothing could descend on me from the top. On the side of this rock was a little hollow place, resembling the entrance or door of a cave. Just before this place, on the circle of the green, I resolved my tent should stand. This plain did not much exceed 100 yards broad, and about twice as long, like a delightful green before my door, with a pleasing though irregular descent every way to the low grounds by the sea-side, lying on the *N. N. W.* side of the hill, so that it was sheltered from the excessive heat of the sun. After this I drew a semi-circle, containing 10 yards in its semi-diameter, and 20 yards in the whole, driving down two rows of strong stakes not six inches from each other. Then with the pieces of cable which I had cut on board, I regularly laid them in the circle between the piles up to their tops, which were more than five foot out of the earth, and after drove another row of piles looking within side against them, between two or three foot high, which made me conclude it a little impregnable castle for men and beasts. And for my better security, I would have no door, but entered in and came out by the help of a ladder which I also made.

Here was my fence and fortress into which I carried all my riches, ammunition, and stores. After which,

working on the rock, what with the dirt and stones I dug out, I not only raised my ground two feet, but made a little cellar to my mansion-house; and this cost me many days labour and pains. One day in particular a shower of rain falling, thunder and lightning ensued, which put me in terror lest my powder should take fire, and not only hinder my necessary subsistence, by killing me food, but even blow me up and my habitation. To prevent which, I fell to making boxes and bags, in order to separate it, having by me near 150 weight. And thus being established as king of the island, every day I went out with my gun to see what I could kill that was fit to eat. I soon perceived numbers of goats but very shy. Yet having watched them narrowly, and seeing I could better shoot off the rocks than when in the low grounds, I happened to shoot a she-goat, suckling a young kid; who not thinking its dam slain, stood by her unconcerned; and when I took the dead creature up, the young one followed me even to the inclosure. I lifted the kid over the pales, and would willingly have kept it alive; but finding it could not be brought to eat, I was forced to slay it also for my own subsistence.

Thus entered into as strange a scene of life, as ever any man was in, I had most melancholy apprehensions concerning my deplorable condition; and many times the tears would plentifully run down my face, when I considered how I was debarred from all communication with humankind. Yet while these desponding cogitations would seem to make me accuse Providence, other good thoughts would interpose and reprove me after this manner: Well, supposing you are desolate, is it

not better to be so than totally perish? Why were you singled out to be saved, and the rest destroyed? Why should you complain, when not only your life is preserved, but the ship driven even into your reach, in order to take what was necessary out of her for your subsistence? But to proceed. It was, by the account I kept, the 30th of *September*, when I first landed on this island. About twelve days after, fearing lest I should lose my reckoning of time, nay even forget the *Sabbath-days* for want of pen, ink and paper, I carved, with a knife upon a large post, in great letters, and set it up, in the similitude of a cross, on the sea-shore where I landed, *I came on shore* Sept. 30. 1659. Every day I cut a notch with my knife on the sides of this square post, and that on *Sabbath* was as long again as the rest; and every first day of the month as long again as that long one. In this manner I kept my calendar, weekly, monthly, or yearly reckoning of time. But had I made a more strict search (as I did afterwards), I need not have set up this mark. For among the parcels belonging to the gunner, carpenter, and captain's mate, I found those very things I wanted; particularly pens, ink, and paper; also I found two or three compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspective glasses, books of navigation, three *English* bibles, and several other good books, which I carefully put up. Here I cannot but call to mind our having a dog and two cats on board, whom I made inhabitants with me in my castle. Though one might think I had all the necessaries that were desirable, yet still I found several things wanting. My ink was daily wasting: I wanted needles, pins, and thread, to mend or keep my cloaths together: and

particularly a spade, pickaxe, or shovel, to remove the earth. It was a year before I finished my little bulwark: and having some intervals of relaxation, after my daily wandering abroad for provision, I drew up this plan, alternately, as creditor and debtor, to remind me of the miseries and blessings of my life, under so many various circumstances.

EVIL.

I am cast upon a desolate island, having no hopes, no prospect of a welcome deliverance.

Thus miserable am I singled out from the enjoyment or company of all mankind.

Like an hermit (rather should I say a lovely anchorite) am I forced from human conversation.

My cloaths, after some time, will be worn out; and then I shall have none to cover me.

When my ammunition is wasted, then shall I remain without any defence against wild men and beasts.

I have no creature, no

GOOD.

But yet I am preserved, while my companions are perished in the raging ocean.

Yet set apart to be spared from death. And he, who has so preserved me, can deliver me from this condition.

However, I have food to eat, and even a happy prospect of subsistence whilst life endures.

At present I enjoy what is absolutely needful; and the climate is so hot, that had I never so many, I should hardly wear them.

Yet if it does, I see no danger of any to hurt me, as in Africa: And what if I had been cast away upon that coast?

Is there not God to con-

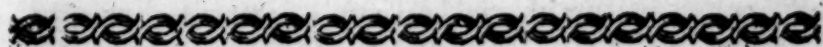
EVIL.

soul to speak to; none to beg assistance from. Some comfort would it be to resound my woes where I am understood; and beg assistance, where I might hope for relief.

GOOD.

verse to, and is not he able to relieve thee? Already has he afforded thee sustenance, and put it in thy power to provide for thyself till he sends thee a deliverance.

And now easing my mind a little by these reflexions, I began to render my life as easy as possible. I must here add, to the description I have given of my habitation, that having raised a turf-wall against the outside of it, I thatched it so close, as might keep it from the inclemency of the weather; I also improved it within, enlarged my cave, and made a passage and door in the rock, which came out beyond the pale of my fortification. I next proceeded to make a chair and table, and so began to study such mechanical arts as seemed to me practicable. When I wanted a plank or board, I hewed down a tree with my hatchet, making it as thin with my axe as possible, and then smooth enough with an adze to answer my designs: Yet though I could not make more this way than one board out of a tree, in length of time, I got boards enough to shelter all my stores, every thing being regularly placed, and my guns securely hanging against the side of the rock. This made it a very pleasant sight to me, being the result of vast labour and diligence; which leaving for a while, and me to the enjoyment of, I shall give the reader an account of my *journal*, from the day of my landing, till the fixing and settling of my habitation, as heretofore shewn.



JOURNAL.

September 30. 1659. I unhappy *Robinson Crusoe* having suffered shipwreck, was driven on this desolate island, which I named the *Desolate island of Despair*, the rest being swallowed up in the tempestuous ocean. The next day I spent in consideration of my unhappy circumstances, having no prospect, but of death, either to be starved with hunger, or devoured by beasts or merciless savages.

Octob. 1. That morning with great comfort I beheld the ship drove ashore. Some hopes I had, that when the storm was abated, I might be able to get some food and necessaries out of her; which I conceived were not damaged, because the ship did stand upright. At this time I lamented the loss of my companions, and our misfortune in leaving the vessel. When I perceived the ship as it were lie dry, I waded through the sands, then swam aboard, the weather being very rainy, and with scarcely any wind.

To the 14th of this month, my time was employed in making voyages, every tide getting what I could out of the ship. The weather very wet and uncertain.

Octob. 20. My raft, and all the goods thereon were overfet; yet I recovered most again at low water.

Octob. 25. It blew hard, and rained night and day, when the ship went in pieces, so that nothing was seen

of her but the wreck at low water. This day I secured my goods from the inclemency of the weather.

Octob. 26 I wandered to see where I could find a place convenient for my abode. I fixed upon a rock in the evening, marked out a half-moon, intending to erect a wall, fortified with piles, lined within with pieces of cables, and covered with turf.

Nov. 1. I erected my tent under a rock; and took up my lodging very contentedly in a hammock that night.

Nov. 2. This day I fenced myself in with timber, chests, and boards.

Nov. 2. I shot two wild fowls, resembling ducks, which were good to eat; and in the afternoon made me a table.

Nov. 4. I began to live regularly. In the morning I allowed myself two or three hours to walk out with my gun; I then worked till near eleven o'clock; and afterwards refreshed myself with what I had to eat. From twelve to two, I would lie down to sleep. Extreme sultry weather. In the evening go to work again.

Nov. 5. Went out with my gun and dog, shot a wild cat with a soft skin, but her flesh was good for nothing. The skins of those I killed I preserved. In my return, I perceived many wild birds, and was terrified by some seals, which made off to sea.

Nov. 6. Completed my table.

Nov. 7. Fair weather. I worked till the 12th, but omitted the 11th, which, according to my calculation, I supposed to be *Sunday*.

Nov. 13. Rain in abundance, which however much

cooled the earth, when thunder and lightning caused in me a terrible surprise. The weather clearing, I secured my powder in separate parcels.

Nov. 14. to 16. I made little boxes for my powder, lodging them in several places. I also shot a large fowl, which proved excellent meat.

Nov. 17. I began to dig in the rock, yet was obliged to desist for want of a pickaxe, shovel, and wheelbarrow. Iron crows I caused to supply the place of the first; but with all my art I could not make a wheelbarrow.

Nov. 18. It was my fortune to find a tree, resembling what the *Brasilians* call an iron tree. I had like to have spoiled my axe with cutting it, being very hard and exceeding heavy: yet, with much labour and industry, I made a sort of a spade out of it.

Nov. 23. These tools being made, I daily carried on my business; eighteen days I allowed for enlarging my cave, that it might serve me, not only for a warehouse, but kitchen, parlour, and cellar. I commonly lay in the tent, unless the weather was rainy that I could not lie dry. So wet would it be at certain seasons, that I was obliged to cover all within the pale, with long poles in the form of rafters leaning against the rock, and load them with flags, and large leaves of trees resembling a thatch.

Dec. 10. No sooner did I think my habitation finished, but suddenly a great deal of the top broke in, so that it was a mercy I was not buried in the ruins. This occasioned a great deal of pains and trouble to me, before I could make it firm and durable.

Dec. 17. I nailed up some shelves, and drove nails and

staples in the wall and posts to hang things out of the way.

Dec. 20. Every thing I got into its place, then made a sort of a dresser, and another table.

Dec. 24, 25. Rain in abundance.

Dec. 26. Very fair weather.

Dec. 27. I chanced to light on some goats, shot one, wounded another, I led it home in a string, bound up his leg, and cured it in a little time; at length it became so tame and familiar, as to feed before the door, and follow me where I pleased. This put me in mind to bring up tame creatures, in order to supply me with food after my ammunition was spent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. The weather being excessive hot, with little air, obliged me for the most part to keep within doors.

Jan. 1. Still sultry. However, obliged by necessity, I went out with my gun, and found a great store of goats in the valleys; they were exceedingly shy, nor could any dog hunt them down.

Jan. 3. to 14. My employment this time was to finish the wall before described, and search the island. I discovered a kind of pigeons like our house-pigeons, in a nest among the rocks. I brought them home, nursed them till they could fly, and then they left me. After this I shot some, which proved excellent food. Some time I spent vainly in contriving to make a cask; I may well say it was in vain, because I could neither join the staves, or fix the heads, to make it tight; so leaving that, I took some goats tallow I had by me, and a little okum for the wick, and provided myself with a lamp, which served me instead of candles.

But now a very strange event happened. For being in the height of my search, what should come into my hand, but a bag, which was used to hold corn (as I supposed for the fowls): so immediately resolving to put gun-powder in it, I shook all the husks and dirt upon one side of the rock, little expecting what the consequence would be. The rain had fallen plentifully a few day before; and about a month after, to my great amazement, something began to look out very green and flourishing: and when I came to view it more nearly, every day as it grew, I found about ten or twelve ears of green barley appeared in the same shape and make as that in *England*.

I can scarce express the agitations of my mind at this sight. Hitherto I had looked upon the actions of this life, no otherwise than only as the events of blind chance and fortune. But now, the appearance of this barley, flourishing in a barren soil, and my ignorance in not conceiving how it should come there, made me conclude *that miracles were not yet ceased*: nay, I even thought that God had appointed it to grow there without any seed, purely for my sustenance in this miserable and desolate island. And indeed such great effect this had upon me, that it often made me melt into tears, through a grateful sense of God's mercies; and the greater still was my thankfulness, when I perceived about this little field of barley some rice stalks, also wonderfully flourishing.

While thus pleased in mind, I concluded there must be more corn in the island; and therefore made a diligent search narrowly among the rocks; but not being able to find any, on a sudden it came into my mind,

how I had shaken the husks of corn out of the bag, and then my admiration ceased, with my gratitude to the divine being, *as thinking it was but natural*, and not to be conceived a miracle; though even the manner of its preservation might have made me own it as a wonderful event of God's kind providence.

It was about the latter end of *June* when the ears of this corn ripened, which I laid up very carefully, together with 20 or 30 stalks of rice, expecting one day I should reap the fruit of my labour; yet four years were expired before I could allow myself to eat any barley-bread, and much longer time before I had any rice. After this, with indefatigable pains and industry for three or four months, at last I finished my wall on the 14th of *April*, having no way to go into it, but by a ladder against the wall.

April. 16. I finished my ladder, and ascended it; afterwards pulled it up, then let it down on the other side, and descended into my new habitation, where I had space enough, and so fortified that nothing could attack me, without scaling the walls.

But what does all human pains and industry avail, if the blessing of God do not crown our labour? Or, who can stand before the Almighty, when he stretcheth forth his arm? For one time, as I was at the entrance of my cave, there happened such a dreadful earthquake, that not only the roof of the cave came tumbling about my ears, but the posts seemed to crack terribly at the same time. This put me in great amazement; and running to my ladder, and getting over the wall, I then plainly knew it was an earthquake, the place I stood on sustaining three terrible shocks in less than three

minutes. But judge of my terror when I saw the top of a great rock roll into the sea; I then expected the island would be swallowed up every moment: And what made the scene still more dreadful, was to see the sea thrown into the most violent agitations and disorders by this tremendous accident.

For my part, I stood like a criminal at the place of execution, ready to expire. At the moving of the earth I was, as it were, sea-sick; and very much afraid lest the rock, under which was my fence and habitation, should overwhelm me and it in a lasting tomb.

When the third dreadful shock had spent itself, my spirits began to revive; yet still I would not venture to ascend the ladder, but continued sitting, not knowing what I should do. So little grace had I then, as only to say, *Lord have mercy upon me!* and no sooner was the earthquake over, but that pathetic prayer left me.

It was not long after, when a horrible tempest arose, at the same time attended with a harricane of wind. The sea seemed mountains high, and the waves rolled so impetuously, that nothing could be perceived but froth and foam. Three hours did this storm continue, and in so violent a manner, as to tear the very trees up by the roots, which was succeeded by abundance of rain. When the tempest was over, I went to my tent; but the rain coming on in a furious manner, I was obliged to take shelter in the cave, where I was forced to cut a channel through my fortification to let the water out. It continued raining all that night, and some time the next day. These accidents made me resolve, as soon as the weather cleared up, to build me a little

hut in some open place, walled round to defend me from wild creatures and savages, not doubting but, at the next earthquake, the mountain would fall upon my habitation and me, and swallow up all in its bowels.

April 16.---20. These days I spent in contriving how and in what manner I should fix my place of abode. All this while I was under the most dreadful apprehensions. When I looked round my habitation, every thing I found in its proper place. I had several resolutions whether I should move or not; but at length I resolved to stay where I was, till I found out a convenient place where I might pitch my tent.

April 22. When I began to put my resolutions in practice, I was stopt for want of tools and instruments to work with. Most of my axes and hatchets were useless, occasioned by cutting the hard timber that grew on the island. It took me up a full week to make my grindstone of use to me; and at last I found out a way to turn it about with my foot, by the help of a wheel and a string.

April 28. 29. These days were spent in grinding my tools.

April 30. My bread falling short, I allowed myself but one biscuit a-day.

May 1. As I walked along the sea-shore, I found a barrel of gun-powder, and several pieces of the wreck, which the sea had flung up. Having secured those, I made to the ship, whose stern was torn off, and washed a great distance ashore; but the rest lay in the sands. This I supposed was occasioned by the earthquake. I now resolved to keep my old place of abode; and also

to go to the ship that day, but then found it impossible.

May 3. This day I went on board, and with my saw sawed off one of the beams, which kept her quarter-deck. I then cleared the sand till flood.

May 4. I caught some fish, but they were not wholesome. The same day I also caught a young dolphin.

May 5. This day I also repaired to the wreck, and sawed another piece of timber: and when the flood came, I made a float of three great planks, which was driven ashore by the tide.

May 6. 7. 8. 9. These days I brought off the iron bolts, opened the deck with the iron crow, and carried two planks to land, having made a way into the very middle of the wreck.

May. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. All this time I spent in bringing off great quantities of iron and timber.

May 15. Took with me two hatchets on purpose to cut off some lead of the roll, but all in vain, for it lay too low under water.

May 16. I omitted going to the wreck this day; for employing myself in looking out pigeons, I outstaid my time.

May 17. I perceived several pieces of the wreck blown ashore, which I found belonged to the head of the ship.

May 24. To this day I worked on the wreck, and with great difficulty loosened some things so much with the crow, that at the first blowing tide several casks floated out, and many of the seamens chests; yet that day nothing came to land but pieces of timber, and a hoghead which had some *Brasil* pork in it. I cou-

tinued working to the 15th of *June*, (except necessary times for food and rest); and had I known how to have built a boat, I had timber and planks enough: I had also near 100 weight of sheet-lead.

June 16. As I was wandering towards the sea-side, I found a large tortoise or turtle, being the first I had seen on the island, though, as I afterwards found there were many on the other side of it.

June 17. This day I spent in cooking it, found in her threescore eggs, and her flesh the most savoury and pleasant I ever tasted in my life.

June 18. I staid within this day, there being a continual rain; and it was something more chilly and cold than usual.

June 19. Exceeding bad, taken with a trembling and shivering.

June 20. Awake all night, my head racked with pain, and feverish.

June 21. Sick unto death, and terrified with the dismal apprehensions of my condition: Prayed to God more frequently, but very confusedly.

June 22. Something better, but still uneasy in my mind.

June 23. Again relapsed as before.

June 24. Mended a second time

June 25. A violent ague for seven hours, cold and hot fits, succeeded with faint sweats.

June 26. Better, but very weak; yet I scrambled out, shot a she-goat, brought it home and broiled some of it: I would willingly have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

June 27. All this day I was afflicted with an ague;

thirsty, yet could not help myself to water : Prayed to God in these words: *Lord, in pity look upon me ; Lord have mercy upon me ; have mercy upon me !* After this I fell asleep, which I found had much refreshed me when I waked. I fell asleep a second time, and fell into this strange and terrible sort of dream.

Methought I was sitting on the same spot of ground, at the outside of the wall where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake ; and that I saw a man descending from a great black cloud, and light upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flash of fire that a little before surrounded him ; his countenance inconceivably terrible ; the earth as it were trembled when he stepped upon the ground, and flashes of fire seemed to fill all the air. No sooner I thought him landed upon the earth, but with a long spear or other weapon he made towards me : but first ascending a rising ground, his voice added to my amazement, when I thought I heard him pronounce these dreadful words, *Unhappy wretch ! seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance, thou shalt immediately die.* In pronouncing this dreadful sentence, I thought he went to kill me with the spear that was in his hand.

Any body may think it impossible for me to express the horrors of my mind at this vision ; and even when I awaked, this very dream made a deep impression upon my mind. The little divine knowledge I had, I received from my father's instructions, and that was worn out by an uninterrupted series of seafaring impiety for eight years space. Except what sickness forced from me, I do not remember I had one thought of lifting up my heart towards God ; but rather had a certain

stupidity of soul, not having the least sense or fear of the omnipotent Being when in distress, nor of gratitude to him for his deliverances. Nay, when I was on the desperate expedition on the desert *African* shore, I cannot remember I had one thought of what would become of me, or to beg his consolation and assistance in my sufferings and distress. When the *Portugal* captain took me up, and honourably used me; nay, farther, when I was even delivered from drowning by escaping to this island, I never looked upon it as a judgment, but only I was an unfortunate dog, and that's all. Indeed some secret transports of soul, I had, which was not through grace, but only a common flight of joy, that I was yet alive, when my companions were all drowned: and no other joy could I conceive but what is common with the sailors over a bowl of punch, after they have escaped the greatest dangers.

The likelihood of wanting for neither food nor conveniences, might have called upon me for a thankful acknowledgment to Providence. Indeed the growth of my corn touched me with some sense; but that soon wore off again. The terrible earthquake pointed to me as it were the finger of God, but my dreadful amazement continued no longer than its duration. But now when my spirits began to sink under the burthen of a strong distemper, and I could leisurely view the miseries of death present themselves before my eyes; then my awakened conscience began to reproach me with my past life, in which I had so wickedly provoked the justice of God to pour down his vengeance upon me.

Such reflexions as these oppressed me even in the violence of my distemper. Some prayers I uttered

which only proceeded from my fear of death. But when I considered my father's advice and prophecy, I could not forbear weeping: for he told me, *That if I did persist in my folly, I should not only be deprived of God's blessing, but have time enough to reflect upon my despising his instructions; and this in a wretched time, when none could help me.* And now concluding it to be fulfilled, having no soul in the island to administer any comfort to me, I prayed earnestly to the Lord, that he would help me in this my great calamity. And this, I think, was the first time I prayed in sincerity for many years. But now I must return to my journal.

June 28. Something refreshed with sleep, and the fit quite off, I got up. My dream still occasioned in me a great consternation; and fearing that the ague might return the succeeding day, I concluded it time to get something to comfort me. I filled a case-bottle with water, and set it within the reach of my bed; and to make it more nourishing, and less chilly, I put some rum into it. The next thing I did was to boil me a piece of goat flesh, of which I eat but little. I was very weak; however, walked about, dreading the return of my distemper; and at night I supped on three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted and eat, begging God's blessing therewith.

After I had eaten, I attempted to walk again out of doors with my gun; but was so weak, that I sat down, and looked at the sea, which was smooth and calm. While I continued here, these thoughts came into my mind.

In what manner is the production of the earth and sea, which I have seen so much of? From whence came

myself, and all other creatures living, and of what are we made?

Our beings were assuredly created by some almighty invisible power, who framed the earth, the sea, and air, and all therein. But what is that power?

Certainly it must follow, that God has created it all. Yet, said I, if God has made all this, he must be the ruler of them all, and what is relating thereto; for certainly the power that makes, must indisputably have a power to guide and direct them. And if this be so (as certainly it must) nothing can happen without his knowledge or appointment. Then surely if nothing happens without God's appointment, certainly God has appointed these my sufferings to befall me. And here I fixed my firm belief, that it was his will that it should be so; and then proceeded to enquire, why should God deal with me in this manner? Or what had I done thus to deserve his indignation?

Here conscience flew in my face, reprehending me as a blasphemer; crying with a loud and piercing voice, *Unworthy wretch! dare you ask what you have done? Look upon your past life, and see what you have left undone.* Ask thyself, why thou wert not long ago in the merciless hands of death? Why not drowned in *Tar-mouth* roads, or killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the *Sallee* man of war? Why not entombed in the bowels of wild beasts on the *African* coast, or drowned here when all thy companions suffered shipwreck in the ocean?

Struck dumb with those reflections, I rose up in a pensive manner, being so thoughtful that I could not go to sleep; and fearing the dreadful return of my distemper,

it caused me to remember that the *Brasilians* use tobacco for almost all diseases. I then went to my chest, in order to find some, where Heaven no doubt directed me to find a cure for both soul and body; for there I found one of the bibles, which till this time I had neither leisure nor inclination to look into; I took both the tobacco and that out of the chest, and laid them on the table. Several experiments did I try with the tobacco: First, I took a piece of leaf, and chewed it; but it being very green and strong, almost stupified me. Next I steeped it in some rum an hour or two, resolving when I went to bed to take a dose of it; and in the third place I burned some over a pan of fire, holding my nose over it so long as I could endure it without suffocation.

In the intervals of this operation, though my head was giddy and disturbed at the tobacco, I took up the Bible to read. No sooner did I open it, but there appeared to me these words, *Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.*

At first this sentence made a very deep impression on my heart; but it soon wore off again, when I considered the word *deliver* was foreign to me. And as the children of *Israel* said, when they were promised flesh to eat, *Can God spread a table in the wilderness?* in like manner I began to say, Can God himself deliver me from this desolate island? However, the words would still return to my mind, and afterwards made a greater impression upon me. As it now was very late, and the tobacco had dozed my head, I was inclined to sleep; but before I would lie down, I fell on my knees, and implored the promise that God had made to me in

the holy scriptures, that *if I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me.* With much difficulty I after drank the rum, wherein I had steeped the tobacco; which flying in my head, threw me into such a profound sleep, that it was three o'clock the next day before I awaked; or rather, I believe I slept two days, having certainly lost a day in my account, and I could never tell any other way. When I got up, my spirits were lively and chearful; my stomach much better, being very hungry; and in short, no fit returned the next day, which was the 29th, but I found myself much altered for the better.

The 30th I went abroad with my gun, but not far, and killed a sea-fowl or two, resembling a brand-goose, which however I cared not to eat when I brought them home, but dined upon two more of the turtle's eggs. In the evening I renewed my medicine, excepting that I did not take so large a quantity, neither did I chew the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke: But next day, which was the 1st of *July*, having a little spice of the cold fit, I again took my medicine as I did the first time.

July 3. The fit quite left me, but very weak. In this condition I often thought of these words, *I will deliver thee*; and while at sometimes I would think of the impossibility of it, other thoughts would reprehend me, for disregarding the deliverances I had received, even from the most forlorn and distressed condition. I asked myself, what regard have I had to God for his abundant mercies? Have I done my part? *He has delivered me, but I have not glorified him*;-----as if I had said, I had not owned and been thankful for these de-

liverances, and how could I expect greater? So much did this sensibly touch my heart, that I gave God thanks for my recovery from sickness in the most humble prostration.

July 4. This morning I began seriously to ponder on what is written in the *New Testament*, resolving to read a chapter every morning and night as long as my thoughts could engage me. As soon as I set about this work seriously, I found my heart deeply affected with the impiety of my past life; these words that I thought were spoken to me in my dream revived, *All these things have not brought thee to repentance*. After this, I begged of God to assist me with his Holy Spirit in returning to my duty. One day in perusing the scriptures, I came to these words, *He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance, and to give remission*: Immediately I laid down the book, and, with uplifted hands to heaven, loudly cried, *O blessed Jesus, thou son of David, Jesus thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!* And now indeed I prayed with a true sense of my condition, and a more certain hope founded on the word of God. Now I had a different sense of these words, *Call on me, and I will deliver thee*, that is, from the dreadful load of guilt, which oppressed my sinful soul, and not from a solitary life, which might rather be called a blessing (seeing I neither wanted food nor raiment) when compared with living among the human race, surrounded with so much oppression, misery and affliction: In a word, I came to this conclusion, that a deliverance from sin was a much greater blessing than a deliverance from affliction. But again I proceed to my journal.

To the 24th of *July*, I walked about with my gun, little and little at a time, having been reduced to the greatest extremity of weakness. The applications and experiments I used were perfectly new; neither could I recommend them to any one's practice. For though it carried off the fit, it very much weakened me; and I had frequently convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time. From hence I learned, that going abroad in rainy weather, especially when it was attended with storms and hurricanes of wind, was most pernicious to health. I had now been above ten months in the island; and as I never had seen any of the human kind, I therefore accounted myself as sole monarch; and as I grew better, having secured my habitation to my mind, I resolved to make a tour round my kingdom, in order to make new discoveries.

The 15th of *July* I began my journey. I first went to the creek, where I had brought my rafts on shore; and travelling farther, found the tide went no higher than two miles up, where there was a little brook of running water, on the bank of which were many pleasant *Savannas* or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grass. On the rising parts, where I supposed the water did not reach, I perceived a great deal of tobacco growing to a very strong stalk. Several other plants I likewise found, the virtues of which I did not understand. I searched a long time for the *Cassava* root, which I knew the *Indians* in that climate made their bread of; but all in vain. There were several plants of aloes, though at that time I knew not what they were: Likewise I saw several sugar-canes, but imperfect for want of cultivation. With these few discove-

ries I came back that night, and slept contentedly in my little castle.

The next day, being the 16th, going the same way, but farther than the day before, I found the country more adorned with woods and trees. Here I perceived different fruits in great abundance. Melons in plenty lay on the ground and clusters of grapes, ripe and very rich, spread over the trees. You may imagine I was glad of this discovery, yet eat very sparingly, lest I should throw myself into a flux or fever. The grapes I found of excellent use; for when I had dried them in the sun, which preserved them as dried raisins are kept, they proved very wholesome and nourishing, and served me in those seasons when no grapes were to be had.

The night drawing on apace, I ascended up a tree, and slept very comfortably, though it was the first time I had lain out of my habitation. And when the morning came, I proceeded with great pleasure on my way, travelling about four miles, as I imagined by the length of the valley, directing my course northward, there being a ridge of hills on the south and north side of me. At the end of this valley I came to an opening where the country seemed to descend to the west: There I found a little spring of fresh water, proceeding out of the side of a hill with its crystal streams running directly east. And indeed here my senses were charmed with the most beautiful landscape nature could afford; for the country appeared so flourishing, green and delightful, that to me it seemed like a planted garden. I then descended on the side of that delicious vale, when I found abundance of cocoa, orange and

lemon, and citron trees, but very wild and barren at that time. As for the limes, they were delightful and wholesome, the juice of which I after used to mix in water, which made it cool and refreshing. And now I was resolved to carry home and lay up a store of grapes, limes, and lemons, against the approaching wet season. So laying them up in separated parcels, and then taking a few of each with me, I returned to my little castle, after having spent three days in this journey. Before I got home, the grapes were so bruised that they were utterly spoiled; the limes indeed were good, but of these I could bring only a few.

July 19. Having prepared two bags, I returned thither again; but to my great surprise found all the grapes spread about, trode to pieces, and abundance eaten, which made me conclude there were wild beasts thereabouts. To prevent this happening again, I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out-branches of the trees, both to keep them unhurt, and that they might cure and dry in the sun: and having well loaded myself with limes and lemons, I returned once more to my old place of residence.

And now contemplating on the fruitfulness of this valley, the pleasantness of its situation, its security from storms, and the delightfulness of the adjacent woods, I concluded I was settled in the worst part of the country, and therefore was thinking to remove my habitation. But when I considered again, that though it was pleasant, it was off from the sea-side, where there was a possibility, some time or other, a ship might either be driven or sail by; and that to inclose myself among hills and woods must certainly put an end to

my hopes of deliverance; I resolved to let my castle remain where Providence had first assigned it. Yet so ravished was I with this place, that I made me a little kind of bower, surrounding it with a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked, and filled with bulrushes, and having spent a great part of the month of *July*, I think it was the first of *August* before I began to enjoy my labour.

Aug. 3. Perceiving my grapes to be dry, I took them from the trees, and they proved excellent good raisins of the sun; the most of which I carried to my cave; and happy for me I did so, by which I saved the best part of my winter-food.

Aug. 14. This day it began to rain; and though I had made me a tent like the other, yet having no shelter of a hill to keep me from storms, nor a cave behind me to retreat to, I was obliged to return to my old castle. The rain continued more or less every day, till the middle of *October*; and sometimes so violently, that I could not stir out of my cave for several days. This season I found my family to increase; for one of my cats that run away from me, and who I thought had been dead, returned about *August*, with three kittens at her heels, like herself; which I thought strange, because both my cats were females, and the wild cats of the island seemed to be of a different kind from our *European* cats; but from these cats proceeded such numbers, that I was forced to kill and destroy them as I would do wild beasts or vermin.

To the 26th of this month I could not stir out, it raining incessantly: when beginning to want food, I was compelled to venture twice, the first of which I

shot a goat, and afterwards found a very large tortoise. The manner of my regulating my food was thus: A bunch of raisins served me for breakfast; a piece of goat's flesh or turtle boiled for my dinner, and two or three turtle's eggs for my supper. While the rain lasted, I daily worked two or three hours at enlarging my cave, and by degrees worked it on towards one side till I came to the out-side of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond the fence or wall, and so I came in and out this way. But after I had done this, I was troubled to see myself thus exposed, though I could not perceive any thing to fear, a goat being the biggest creature I had seen upon the island.

Sept. 30. Casting up my notches on my post, which amounted to 365, I concluded this to be the anniversary of my landing; and therefore humbly prostrating myself on the ground, confessing my sins, acknowledging God's righteous judgments upon me, and praying to Jesus Christ to have mercy on me, I fasted for twelve hours till the going down of the sun; and then eating a biscuit and a bunch of grapes, laid me on the bed, and with great comfort took my night's repose. Till this time I never had distinguished the Sabbath-day; but now I made a longer notch than ordinary for the days of rest, and divided the weeks as well as I could, though I found I had lost a day or two in my account. My ink failing soon after, I omitted in my daily memorandum things of an indifferent nature, and contented myself to write down only the most remarkable events of my life. The rainy and dry seasons appeared now regular to me, and experience taught me

how to provide for them; yet in one thing I am going to relate, my experience very much failed me. You may call to mind what I have mentioned of some barley and rice which I had saved; about thirty-stalks of the former and twenty of the latter; and at that time the sun being in its southern position, going from me together with the rains made me conclude it a very proper season to sow it. Accordingly I dug up a piece of ground with my wooden spade, and dividing it in two parts, sowed about two thirds of my seed, preserving by me about a handful of each. And happy it was I did so; for no rain, falling, it was choked up, and never appeared above the earth till the wet season came again, and then part of it grew as if it had been newly sown.

I was resolved still to make another trial; and seeking for a moister piece of ground near my bower, I there sowed the rest of my seed in *February*, a little before the *vernal Equinox*, which having the rainy months of *March* and *April* to water it, yielded a noble crop, and sprung up very pleasantly. I had still saved part of the seed, not daring to venture all; and by the time I found out the proper seasons to sow in, and that I might expect every year two seed-times and two harvests, my stock amounted to above half a peck of each sort of grain.

No sooner were the rains over, but the stalks which I had cut from the trees, shot out like willows the first year after lopping their heads. I was ignorant of the tree I cut them from; but they grew so regularly beautiful, that they made a most lively appearance, and so flourished in three years time, that

I resolved to cut more of them; and these soon growing made a glorious fence, as afterwards I shall observe.

And now I perceived that the seasons of the year might generally be divided, not into Summer and Winter as in *Europe*, but into Wet and Dry Seasons, as in this manner :

Half { *Februa*
 { *March,* } *Rainy, sun coming near the equinox.*
 { *April,* }

Half { *April,*
 { *May,* } *Dry, sun getting north of the line.*
 { *June,* }
 { *July,* }
 { *August,* }

Half { *August,*
 { *September,* } *Wet, the sun being then come back,*
 { *October,* }

Half { *October,*
 { *November,* } *Dry, sun running south of the line.*
 { *December,* }
 { *January,* }
 { *February,* }

The wet seasons would continue longer or shorter as the winds happened to blow. But having found the ill consequences, of being abroad in the rain, I took care beforehand to furnish myself with provisions; and during the wet months sat within doors as much as possible. At this time I contrived to make many things that I wanted, though it cost me much labour

and pains before I could accomplish them. The first I tried was to make a basket, but all the twigs I could get proved so brittle, that I could not then perform it. It now proved of great advantage to me, that, when a boy, I took great delight in standing at a basket-makers's in the same town where my father lived, to view them at work; and, like other boys, curious, to see the manner of their working these things, and very officious to assist, I perfectly learned the method of it, and wanted nothing but the tools. And it coming into my mind, that the twigs of that tree of which I made my stakes, might be as tough as *fallow, willow, or osiers*, growing in *England*, I resolved to make an experiment, and went the next day to my country-seat, and found some fit for my turn; and after cutting down a quantity with my hatchet, I dried them in my pale, and, when fit to work with, carried them to my cave, where I employed myself in making several sorts of baskets, insomuch that I could put in whatsoever I pleased. It is true, they were not cleverly made, yet they served my turn upon all occasions.

But still I wanted two necessary things. I had no cask to hold my liquor, except two rundlets almost full of rum, a few bottles, of an ordinary size, and some square case bottles: neither had I a pot to boil any thing in, only a large kettle, unfit to make broth, or stew a bit of meat; I wanted likewise at the beginning of this dry season a tobacco-pipe; but for this I afterwards found an expedient.

I kept myself employed in planting my second row of stakes. But remembering that when I travelled up to the brook, I had a mind to see the whole island, I

now resumed my intention, and taking my dog, gun, hatchet, two biscuit-cakes, a great bunch of raisins, with a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, I began my journey. Having passed the vale where my bower stood, I came within view of the sea lying to the west; when it being a clear day I fairly descried land, extending from the W. to the S. W. about 10 or 15 leagues, as I concluded: but could not say whether it was an island or a continent. Neither could I tell what this place might be; only thought it was part of *America*, and where I might have been in a miserable condition had I landed. Again, I considered; that if this was the *Spanish* coast, certainly, one time or other, I should see some ship pass by; and if it was not, then it must be the *Savage* coast, between the *Spanish* country and *Brazil*, which abounds with cannibals or man eaters.

As I proceeded forward, I found this side of the island much more pleasant than mine; the fields fragrant, adorned with sweet flowers and verdant grass, together with several very fine woods. There were parrots in plenty, which made me long for one to be my companion; but it was with great difficulty I could knock down one with my stick; and I kept him at home some years, before I could get him to call me by my name.

In the low grounds, I found various sorts of hares and foxes as I took them to be, but much different from those in *England*. Several of these I killed, but never eat them; neither indeed had I any occasion; for abounding with goats, pigeons, turtle, and grapes, I could defy *Leadenhall* market to furnish me a better

table. In this journey I did not travel above two miles a-day, because I took several turns and windings to see what discoveries I could make, returning weary enough to the place where I designed to rest all night, which was either in a tree, or to a place which I surrounded with stakes, that no wild creature might suddenly surprise me. When I came to the sea-shore, I was amazed to see the splendour of it. Its strand was covered with shells of the most beautiful fish, and constantly abounding with innumerable turtles, and fowls of many kinds, which I was ignorant of, except those called *Penguins*. I might have shot as many as I pleased, but was sparing of my ammunition, rather chusing to kill a she-goat, which I did with much difficulty, on account of the flatness of the country.

Now, though this journey produced the most pleasing satisfaction, yet my habitation was so much to my liking, that I did not repine at my being seated on the worst part of the island. I continued my journey, travelling about twelve miles further towards the *east*, where I set a great pile on the shore for a mark, concluding that my next journey should bring me to the other side of the island, east from my castle, and so round till I came to my post again. As I had a constant view of the country, I thought I could not miss my way; but scarce had I travelled three miles, when I descended into a very large valley, so surrounded with hills covered with wood, that I having no guide but by the sun, nor even then, unless I knew well the position of the sun at that time of the day; and to add to my misfortune, the weather proving ve-

ry hazy, I was obliged to return to my post by the seaside, and so backwards the same way I came. In this journey my dog surpris'd a kid, and would have kill'd it, had I not prevented him. As I had often been thinking of getting a kid or two, and so raising a breed of tame goats to supply me after my ammunition was spent, I took this opportunity of beginning; and having made a collar for this little creature with a string made of rope yarn, I brought it to my bower, and there inclos'd and left him; and having spent a month in this journey, at length I returned to my old habitation.

No body can doubt of my satisfaction, when I returned to my little castle, and repos'd myself in my hammock. After my journey, I rested myself a week, which time I employ'd in making a cage for my pretty poll. I now began to consider of the poor kid I had left at the bower; and I immediately went to fetch it home. When I came there, I found the young creature almost starv'd; I gave it some food, and tied it as before; but there was no occasion, for it follow'd me like a dog; and as I constantly fed it, it became so loving, gentle, and fond, that it commenced one of my domestics, and would never leave me.

The rainy season of the *autumnal equinox* being now come, I kept the 30th of *September* in the most solemn manner as usual, it being the third year of my abode in the island. I spent the whole day in acknowledging God's mercies; in giving him thanks for making this solitary life as agreeable, and less sinful, than that of human society; and for the communications of his grace to my soul, in supporting,

comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence, and hope for his eternal presence in the world to come.

Indeed I often did consider how much more happy I was in this state of life than in that accursed manner of living I formerly used; and sometimes when hunting, or viewing the country, the anguish of my soul would break out upon me, and my very heart would sink within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deserts I was in; and how I was a prisoner locked up with the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderness, without hopes, and without redemption. In this condition, I would often wring my hands, and weep like a child; and even sometimes in the middle of my work this fit would take me: and then I would sit down and sigh, looking on the ground for an hour or two together, till such time as my grief got vent in a flood of tears.

One morning as I was sadly employed in this manner, I opened my Bible, when immediately I fixed my eyes upon these words, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee!* Surely, thought I, these words are directed to me; or else, why should they appear just at a moment when I am bemoaning my forlorn condition? and if God does not forsake me, what matters it, since he can make me more happy in this state of life, than if I enjoyed the greatest splendour in the world? But while I was going to return God thanks for my present state, something seemed to shock my mind, as if it had thus said: Unworthy wretch! can you pretend to be thankful for a condition, from which you would pray to be delivered! Here I stopt;

-----and though I could not say, I thanked the divine Majesty for being there, yet I gave God thanks for placing to my view my former wicked course of life, and granting me a true knowledge of repentance. And whenever I opened or shut the Bible, I blessed kind Providence, that directed my good friend in *England* to send it among my goods without my order, and for assisting me to save it from the power of the raging ocean.

And now beginning my third year, my several daily employments were these. *First*, My duty to heaven, and diligently reading the holy scriptures, which I did twice or thrice every day. *Secondly*, Seeking provision with my gun, which commonly took me up, when it did not rain, three hours every morning. *Thirdly*, The ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking what I had killed, or caught for my supply, which took me up a great part of the day: for in the middle of the day the sun being in its height, it was so hot, that I could not stir out; so that I had only but four hours in the evening to work in: and then the want of tools, of assistance, and skill, wasted a great deal of time to little purpose. I was no less than two and forty days making a board fit for a long shelf; which two sawers, with their tools and saw-pit, would have cut out of the same tree in half a day. It was of a large tree, as my board was to be broad. I was three days in cutting it down, and two more in lopping off the boughs, and reducing it to a piece of timber. This I hacked and hewed off each side, till it became light to move; then I turned it, made one side of it smooth and flat as a board from end to end, then turned it

downwards, cutting the other side, till I brought the plank to about three inches thick, and smooth on both sides. Any body may judge my great labour and fatigue in such a piece of work; but this I went through with patience, as also many other things that my circumstances made necessary for me to do.

The harvest-months, *November* and *December*, were now at hand, in which I had the pleasing prospect of a very good crop: But here I met with a new misfortune: for the goats and hares, having tasted of the sweetness of the blade, kept it so short, that it had not strength to shoot up into a stalk. To prevent this, I inclosed it with a hedge, and by day shot some of its devourers; and my dog, which I had tied to the field-gate, keeping barking all night, so frightened these creatures, that I got entirely rid of them.

But no sooner did I get rid of these than other enemies appeared, to wit, whole flocks of several sorts of birds, who only waited till my back was turned to ruin me. So much did this provoke me, that I let fly, and killed three of the malefactors; and afterwards served them, as they do notorious thieves in *England*, hung them up in chains as a terror to others. And indeed so good an effect had this, that they not only forsook the corn, but all that part of the island, so long as these criminals hung there.

My corn having ripened apace, the latter end of *December*, which was my second harvest, I reaped it with a scythe, made of one of my broad swords. I had no fatigue in cutting down my first crop, it was so slender. The ears I carried home in a basket, rub-

bing it out with my hands instead of threshing it; and when my harvest was over, found my half-peck of seed produced near two bushels of rice, and two bushels and a half of barley. And now I plainly foresaw, that, by God's goodness, I should be furnished with bread: but yet I was concerned, because I knew not how to grind or make meal of my corn, nor bread, neither knew how to bake it. I would not however taste any of the crop, but resolved to preserve it against next season, and in the mean while use my best endeavours to provide myself with other food.

But where were my labours to end? The want of a plough to turn up the earth, or shovel to dig it, I conquered by making me a wooden spade: the want of a harrow, I supplied myself with dragging over the corn a great bough of a tree. When it was growing, I was forced to fence it; when ripe, to mow it, carry it home, thresh it, part it from the chaff, and save it. And after all, I wanted a mill to grind it, sieve to dress it, yeast and salt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it. This set my brains on work to find some expedient for every one of these necessities against the next harvest.

And now having more seed, my first care was to prepare me more land. I pitched upon two large flat pieces of ground near my castle for that purpose, in which I sowed my seed, and fenced it with a good hedge. This took me up three months; by which time the wet season coming on, and the rain keeping me within doors, I found several occasions to employ myself; and, while at work, used to divert myself with talking to my parrot, learning him to know and speak his

own name *Poll*, the first welcome word I ever heard spoke in the island. I had been a long time contriving how to make earthen vessels, which I wanted extremely; and when I considered the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but if I could find any such clay, I might botch up a pot, strong enough when dried in the sun to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry as corn, meal, and other things.

To be short, the clay I found; but it would occasion the most serious person to smile to see what awkward ways I took, and what ugly mishapen things I made; how many either fell out, or cracked by the violent heat of the sun, and fell into pieces when they were removed: so I think that it was two months time before I could perfect any thing; and even then but two clumsy things, in imitation of earthen jars. These however I very gently placed in wicker baskets, made on purpose for them, and between the pot and the baskets, stuffed it full of rice and barley straw: and these I presumed would hold my dried corn, and perhaps the meal when the corn was bruised. As for the smaller things, I made them with better success; such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, and pipkins, the sun baking them very hard.

Yet still I wanted one thing absolutely necessary, and that was an earthen pot, not only to hold any liquid, but also to bear the fire, which none of these could do. It once happened, that as I was putting out my fire, I found therein a broken piece of one of my vessels burnt hard as a rock, and red as a tile. This made me think of burning some pots; and having no notion of a kiln, or of glazing them with lead,

I fixed three large pipkins, and two or three pots in a pile one upon another. The fire I piled round the out-side, and dry wood on the top, till I saw the pots in the inside red hot, and found that they did not crack at all; and when I perceived them perfectly red, I let one of them stand in the fire about five or six hours, till the clay melted by the extremity of the heat, and would have run to glass, had I suffered it; upon which I flaked the fire by degrees, till the redness abated; and watching them till the morning, I found I had three very good pipkins, and two earthen pots, as well burnt and fit for my turn as I could desire.

No joy could be greater than mine at this discovery. For after this, I may say, I wanted for no sort of earthen ware. I filled one of my pipkins with water to boil me some meat, which it did admirably well, and with a piece of kid I made me some good broth, as well as my circumstances could afford me at that time.

The next concern I had was to get me a stone-mortar to beat some corn in, instead of a mill to grind it. Here indeed I was at a great loss, as not being fit for a stone-cutter; and many days I spent to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow and make fit for a mortar, and strong enough to bear the weight of the pestle, that would break the corn without filling it with sand. But all the stones of the island being of a mouldering nature, rendered my search fruitless; and then I resolved to look out a great block of hard wood; which having soon found, I formed it with my axe and hammer, and then with

infinite labour made a hollow in it, just as the *Indians of Brasil* make their canoes. When I had finished this, I made a great pestle of iron wood, and then laid them up against my succeeding harvest.

My next business was to make me a sieve, to sift my meal, and part it from the bran and husk ; having no fine thin canvass to search the meal through, I could not tell what to do. What linen I had was reduced to rags : I had goats hair enough, but neither tools to work it, nor did I know how to spin it : At length I remembered I had some neckcloths of callico or muslin of the sailors, which I had brought out of the ship, and with these I made three small sieves, proper enough for the work.

I come now to consider the baking part. The want of an oven I supplied by making some earthen pans very broad, but not deep. When I had a mind to bake, I made a great fire upon my hearth, the tiles of which I had made myself; and when the wood was burnt into live coals, I spread them over it, till it became very hot ; then sweeping them away, I set down my loaves, and whelmed down the earthen pots upon them, drew the ashes and coals all around the outside of the pots to continue the heat; and in this manner I baked my barley-loaves as well as if I had been a complete pastry-cook, and also made of the rice several cakes and puddings.

'Tis no wonder that all these things took me up the best part of a year, since what intermediate time I had was bestowed in managing my new harvest and husbandry; for in the proper season I reaped my corn, carried it home, and laid it up in the ear in my large

baskets, till I had time to rub, instead of threshing it. And now indeed my corn increased so much, that it produced me about twenty bushels of barley, and as much of rice, that I not only began to use it freely, but was thinking how to enlarge my barns, and resolved to sow as much at a time as would be sufficient for me for a whole year.

All this while, the prospect of land, which I had seen from the other side of the island, ran in my mind. I still meditated a deliverance from this place, though the fear of greater misfortunes might have deterred me from it. For allowing that I had attained that place, I run the hazard of being killed and eaten by the devouring cannibals; and if they were not so, yet I might be slain, as other *Europeans* had been, who fell into their hands. Notwithstanding all this, my thoughts ran continually upon that shore. I now wished for my boy *Xury*, and the longboat, with the shoulder of mutton sail: I went to the ship's boat, that had been cast a great way on the shore in the late storm. She was removed but a little; but her bottom being turned up by the impetuosity and fury of the waves and wind, I fell to work with all the strength I had, and with levers and rollers I had cut from the wood, to turn her, and repair the damages she had sustained. This work took me up three or four weeks, when finding my little strength all in vain, I fell to undermining it by digging away the sand, and so to make it fall down, setting pieces of wood to thrust and guide it in the fall. But after this was done, I was still unable to stir it up, or to get under it, much less to move

it forwards towards the water, and so I was forced to give it over.

This disappointment however did not frighten me. I began to think whether it was not possible for me to make a Canoe or Periagua, such as the *Indians* make of the trunk of a tree. But here I lay under particular inconveniencies, want of tools to make it, and want of hands to move it into the water when it was made. However, to work I went upon it, stopping all the inquiries I could make, with this very simple answer I made to myself, Let's first make it, I'll warrant I'll find some way or other to get it along when it is done.

I first cut down a cedar tree, which was five foot ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four foot eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two foot, after which it lessened for a space, and then parted into branches. Twenty days was I a hacking and hewing this tree at the bottom, fourteen more in cutting off the branches and limbs, and a whole month in shaping it like the bottom of a boat. As for the inside, I was three weeks with a mallet and chissel, clearing it in such a manner, as that it was big enough to carry 26 men, much bigger than any canoe I ever saw in my life, and consequently sufficient to transport me and all my effects to that wished for shore I so ardently desired.

Nothing remained now, but indeed the greatest difficulty, to get it into the water, it lying about 100 yards from it. To remedy the first inconvenience, which was a rising hill between this boat and the creek, with wonderful pains and labour I dug into

the surface of the earth, and made a declivity: this I began, and it cost me a prodigious deal of pains: But who grudge pains, that have their deliverance in view? but when this was worked through, and this difficulty managed, it was still much at one; for I could no more stir the canoe, than I could the other boat.

Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved to cut a dock, or canal, to bring the water up to the canoe, seeing I could not bring the canoe down to the water: well, I began this work, and when I began to enter into it, and calculated how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the stuff to be thrown out, I found, that by the number of hands I had, being none but my own, it must have been ten or twelve years before I should have gone through with it; for the shore lay high, so that at the upper end it must have been at least twenty feet deep; so at length, though with great reluctance, I gave this attempt over also.

This grieved me heartily, and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost, and before we judge rightly of our own strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this work I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion, and with as much comfort, as ever before; for by a constant study, and serious application of the word of God, and by the assistance of his grace, I gained a different knowledge from what I had before; I entertained different notions of things; I looked now upon the world as a thing remote; which I had nothing to do with, no expectation from, and indeed no desires about; in a word, I had nothing indeed to do

with it, nor was ever like to have; so I thought it looked as we may perhaps look upon it hereafter; *viz.* as a place I had lived in, but was come out of it; and well might I say, as father *Abraham* to *Dives*, *Between me and thee is a great gulph fixed.*

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here: I had neither the *lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life*: I had nothing to covet, for I had all I was now capable of enjoying: I was lord of the whole manor, or, if I pleased, I might call myself king or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of: There were no rivals: I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me: I might have railled ship-loadings of corn, but I had no use for it; so I let as little grow as I thought enough for my occasion; I had tortoises or turtles enough; but now-and-then one was as much as I could put to any use: I had timber enough to have built a fleet of ships: I had grapes enough to have made wine, or to have cured into raisins, to have loaded that fleet when they had been built.

But all I could make use of, was all that was valuable: I had enough to eat, and to supply my wants, and what was all the rest to me? if I killed more flesh than I could eat, the dog must eat it, or the vermin; if I sowed more corn than I could eat, it must be spoiled: The trees that I cut down were lying to rot on the ground, I could make no more use of them than for fuel; and that I had no occasion for, but to dress my food.

In a word, the nature and experience of things dic-

tated to me upon just reflexion, that all the good things of this world are not farther good to us, than they are for our use; and that whatever we may heap up indeed to give others, we enjoy as much as we can use, and no more. The most covetous griping miser in the world would have been cured of the vice of covetousness, if he had been in my case; for I possessed infinitely more than I knew what to do with. I had no room for desire, except it was of things which I had not, and they were but trifles, tho' indeed of great use to me. I had, as I hinted before, a parcel of money, as well gold as silver, about thirty-six pound *sterling*: Alas! there the nasty sorry useless stuff lay; I had no manner of business for it; and I often thought with myself, that I would have given an handful of it for a gross of tobacco-pipes, or for an hand mill to grind my corn; nay, I would have given it all for sixpence-worth of *turnep* and *carrot* seed out of *England*, or for an handful of *peas* and *beans*, and a bottle of ink: As it was, I had not the least advantage by it, or benefit from it; but there it lay in a drawer, and grew mouldy with the damp of the cave, in the wet season; and if I had had the drawer full of diamonds, it had been the same case; and they had been of no manner of value to me, because of no use.

I had now brought my state of life to be much easier in itself than it was at first, and much easier to my mind, as well as to my body. I frequently sat down to my meat with thankfulness, and admired the hand of God's providence, which had thus spread my table in the wilderness: I learned to look more upon the bright side of my condition, and less upon the dark

side; and to consider what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted; and this gave me sometimes such secret comforts, that I cannot express them; and which I take notice of here, to put those discontented people in mind of it, who cannot enjoy comfortably what God hath given them, because thy see and covet something that he has not given them: all our discontents about what we want, appeared to me to spring from the want of thankfulness for what we have.

Another reflexion was of great use to me, and doubtless would be so to any one that should fall into such distress as mine was; and this was, to compare my present condition with what I at first expected it should be: nay, with what it would certainly have been, if the good providence of God had not wonderfully ordered the ship to be cast up nearer to the shore, where I not only could come at her, but could bring what I got out of her to the shore, for my relief and comfort; without which I had wanted tools to work, weapons for defence, or gunpowder and shot for getting my food.

I spent whole hours, I may say, whole days, in representing to myself in the most lively colours, how I must have acted, if I had got nothing out of the ship; how I could not have so much as got any food, except fish and turtles; and that, as it was long before I found any of them, I must have perished first: That I should have lived, if I had not perished, like a mere savage: That if I had killed a goat or a fowl by any contrivance, I had no way to flay or open them, or part the flesh from the skin and the bowels, or to cut

It up; but must gnaw it with my teeth, and pull it with my claws, like a beast.

These reflexions made me very sensible of the goodness of providence to me, and very thankful for my present condition, with all its hardships and misfortunes: And this part also I cannot but recommend to the reflexion of those who are apt in their misery to say, *Is any affliction like mine?* Let them consider, how much worse the cases of some people are, and what their case might have been, if providence had thought fit.

I had another reflexion which assisted me also to comfort my mind with hopes; and this was, comparing my present condition with what I had deserved, and had therefore reason to expect from the hand of providence: I had lived a dreadful life, perfectly destitute of the knowledge and fear of God: I had been well instructed by my father and mother; neither had they been wanting to me in their early endeavours, to infuse a religious awe of God into my mind, a sense of my duty, and of what the nature and end of my being required of me: but alas! falling early into the seafaring life, which of all the lives is the most destitute of the fear of God, tho' his terrors are always before them; I say, falling early into the seafaring life, and into seafaring company, all that little sense of religion which I had entertained, was laugh't out of me by my messmates; by an hardened despising of dangers, and the views of death, which grew habitual to me; by my long absence from all manner of opportunities to converse with any thing but what was like myself, or to hear any thing of what was good, or tended towards it.

So void was I of every thing that was good, or of the least sense of what I was, or was to be, that in the greatest deliverance I enjoyed, such as my escape from *Sallee*, my being taken up by the *Portuguese* master of the ship, my being planted so well in *Brazil*, my receiving the cargo from *England*, and the like, I never once had the word *thank God* so much as on my mind, or in my mouth; nor in the greatest distress, had I so much thought as to pray to him; nor so much as to say, *Lord, have mercy upon me!* No not to mention the name of God, unless it was to swear by, and blaspheme it.

I had terrible reflexions upon my mind for many months, as I have already observed, on the account of my wicked and hardened life past; and when I looked about me, and considered what particular providences had attended me, since my coming into this place, and how God had dealt bountifully with me; had not only punished me less than my iniquity deserved, but had so plentifully provided for me; this gave me great hopes, that my repentance was accepted, and that God had yet mercies in store for me.

With these reflexions I worked my mind up, not only to resignation to the will of God in the present disposition of my circumstances, but even to a sincere thankfulness for my condition; and that I, who was *a living Man, ought not to complain, seeing I had not the due punishment of my sin*; that I enjoyed so many mercies, which I had no reason to have expected in that place, that I ought never more to repine at my condition, but to rejoice, and to give daily thanks, for

that *daily bread*, which nothing but a cloud of wonders could have brought : that I ought to consider I had been fed even by a miracle, even as great as that of feeding *Elijah* by ravens ; nay, by a long series of miracles ; and that I could hardly have named a place in the uninhabited part of the world, where I could have been cast more to my advantage : a place, where as I had no society, which was an affliction on one hand, so I found no ravenous beasts, no furious wolves or tygers, to threaten my life ; no venomous creatures or poisonous, which I might have fed on to my hurt, no savages to murder and devour me.

In a word as my life was a life of sorrow one way, so it was a life of mercy another ; and I wanted nothing to make a life of comfort, but to be able to make my sense of God's goodness to me, and care over me in this condition, be my daily consolation ; and after I made a just improvement of these things, I went away, and was no more sad.

I had now been here so long, that many things which I brought on shore for my help, were either quite gone, or very much wasted, and near spent.

My ink, as I observed, had been gone for some time, all but a very little, which I eeked out with water a little and a little, till it was so pale it scarce left any appearance of black upon the paper : As long as it lasted, I made use of it to minute down the days of the month on which any remarkable thing happened to me ; and first by casting up times past, I remembered that there was a strange concurrence of days, in the various providences which befel me, and which, if I had been superstitiously inclined to observe days as fatal or for-

fortunate, I might have had reason to have looked upon with a great deal of curiosity.

First, I had observed, that the same day that I broke away from my father and my friends, and ran away to *Hull* in order to go to sea, the same day afterwards I was taken by the *Sallee* man of war, and made a slave.

The same day of the year that I escaped out of the wreck of that ship in *Yarmouth* roads, that same day of the year afterwards I made my escape from *Sallee* in the boat.

The same day of the year I was born on, viz. the 20th of *September*, the same day I had my life so miraculously saved 26 years after, when I was cast on shore in this island; so that my wicked life, and solitary life, began both on a day.

The next thing to my ink's being wasted, was that of my bread, I mean the biscuit which I brought out of the ship: This I had husbanded to the last degree, allowing myself but one cake of bread a day, for above a year; and yet I was quite without bread for a year before I got any corn of my own; and great reason I had to be thankful that I had any at all, the getting it being, as has been already observed, next to miraculous.

My cloaths too began to decay mightily: As to linen, I had none a good while, except some chequered shirts which I had found in the chests of the other seamen, and which I carefully preserved, because many times I could bear no other cloaths on but a shirt; and it was a very great help to me, that I had among all the men's cloaths of the ship almost three dozen of

shirts. There were several thick watch-coats of the seamen, which were left behind, but they were too hot to wear; and tho' it is true, that the weather was so violent hot, that there was no need of cloaths, yet I could not go quite naked; not, tho' I had been inclined to it, which I was not; nor could I abide the thoughts of it, though I was all alone.

One reason why I could not go quite naked, was, I could not bear the heat of the sun so well when quite naked, as with some cloaths on; nay, the very heat frequently blistered my skin; whereas, with a shirt on, the air itself made some motion, and whistling under the shirt, was twofold cooler than without it: No more could I ever bring myself to go out in the heat of the sun without a cap, or an hat; the heat of the sun beating with such violence as it does in that place, would give me the head-ach presently, by darting so directly on my head, without a cap or hat on, so that I could not bear it; whereas, if I put on my hat, it would presently go away.

Upon these views I began to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called cloaths, into some order: I had worn out all the waistcoats I had, and my business was now to try if I could not make jackets out of the great watch-coats which I had by me, and with such other materials as I had: so I set to work a tayloring, or rather indeed a botching; for I made most piteous work of it. However, I made shift to make two or three waistcoats, which I hoped would serve me a great while; as for breeches or drawers, I made but very sorry shift indeed, till afterwards.

I have mentioned that I saved the skins of all the

creatures that I killed, I mean four-footed ones; and I had hung them up stretched out with sticks in the sun; by which means some of them were so dry and hard, that they were fit for little; but others, it seems, were very useful. The first thing I made of these was a great cap for my head, with the hair on the outside to shoot off the rain; and this I performed so well, that after this I made a suit of cloaths wholly of those skins; that is to say, a waistcoat and breeches open at the knees, and both loose; for they were rather wanting to keep me cool, than to keep me warm. I must not omit to acknowledge, that they were wretchedly made; for if I was a bad *carpenter*, I was a worse *taylor*: however, they were such as I made a very good shift with; and when I was abroad, if it happened to rain, the hair of the waistcoat and cap being outmost, I was kept very dry.

After this I spent a deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella: I was indeed in great want of one, and had a great mind to make one: I had seen them made in the *Brafsils*, where they are very useful in the great heats which are there; and I felt the heats every jot as great here, and greater too, being nearer the *Equinox*; besides, as I was obliged to be much abroad, it was a most useful thing to me, as well for the rains as the heats. I took a world of pains at it, and was a great while before I could make any thing likely to hold; nay, after I thought I had hit the way, I spoiled two or three before I made one to my mind; but at last I made one that answered indifferently well, the main difficulty I found was to make it to let down. I could make it to spread; but if it did not let down

too, and draw in, it would not be portable for me any way, but just over my head, which would not do: However, at last, as I said, I made one to answer; I covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a penthouse, and kept off the sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hottest of the weather, with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest; and when I had no need of it, I could close it, and carry it under my arm.

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being intirely compos'd by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of his providence: this made my life better than sociable; for when I began to regret the want of conversation, I would ask myself, whether thus conversing mutually with my own thoughts, and, as I hope, I may say, with even my Maker, by ejaculations and petitions, was not better than the utmost enjoyment of human society in the world?

I cannot say, that after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me; but I lived on in the same course, in the same posture and place, just as before: the chief thing I was employed in, besides my yearly labour of planting my barley and rice, and curing my railins of both which I always kept up just enough to have sufficient stock of the year's provisions beforehand; I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily labour of going out with my gun, I had one labour to make me a canoe, which at last I finished: so that by digging a canal to it six feet wide, and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first, that was so vastly big, as I made it

without considering beforehand, as I ought to do, how I should be able to launch it; so never being able to bring it to the water, or bring the water to it, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as a *memorandum* to teach me to be wiser next time. Indeed the next time, tho' I could not get a tree proper for it, and was in a place where I could not get the water to it, at any less distance than, as I have said, of near half a mile; yet as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over; and tho' I was near two years about it, yet I never grudged my labour, in hopes of having a boat to go off to sea at last.

However, though my little *periagua* was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view, when I made the first; I mean of venturing over to the *Terra firma*, where it was above forty miles broad; accordingly, the smallness of my boat assisted to put an end to that design, and now I thought no more of it: But as I had a boat, my next design was to make a tour round the island; for as I had been on the other side, in one place, crossing, as I have already described it, over the land, so the discoveries I made in that journey, made we very eager to see the other parts of the coast; and now I had a boat, I thought of nothing but sailing round the island.

For this purpose, and that I might do every thing with discretion and consideration, I fitted up a little mast to my boat, and made a sail to it out of some of the pieces of the ship's sails, which lay in store, and of which I had a great store by me.

Having fitted my mast and sail, and tried the boat, I found she would sail very well: then I made little

lockers and boxes at either end of my boat, to put provisions, necessaries, and ammunition, &c. into, to be kept dry, either from rain, or the spray of the sea; and a little long hollow place I cut in the inside of the boat, where I could lay my gun, making a flap to hang down over it to keep it dry.

I fixed my umbrella also in a step at the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off of me like an awning; and this I every now-and-then took a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, nor far from the little creek; but at last being eager to view the circumference of my little kingdom, I resolved upon my tour, and accordingly I victuall'd my ship for the voyage; putting in two dozen of my loaves (cakes I should rather call them) of barley-bread; an earthen pot full of parched rice, a food I eat a great deal of, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder with shot for killing more, and two large watch-coats, of those which, as I mentioned before, I had saved out of the seamen's chests; these I took, one to lie upon, and the other to cover me in the night.

It was the sixth of *November*, in the sixth year of my reign, or my captivity, which you please, that I set out on this voyage, and I found it much longer than I expected; for though the island itself was not very large, yet when I came to the east side of it, I found a great ledge of rocks lie out about two leagues into the sea, some above water, some under it; and beyond this a shoal of sand, lying dry half a league more; so that I was obliged to go a great way out to sea to double that point.

When I first discovered them, I was going to give over my enterprize, and come back again, not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out to sea; and above all, doubting how I should get back again; so I came to an anchor, for I had made me a kind of an anchor with a piece of broken grappling, which I got out of the ship.

Having secured my boat, I took my gun, and went on shore, climbing upon an hill, which seemed to overlook that point, where I saw the full extent of it, and resolved to venture.

In my viewing the sea from that hill where I stood, I perceived a strong, and indeed, a most furious current, which ran to the east, even came close to the point; and I took the more notice of it, because I saw there might be some danger, that when I came into it, I might be carried out to sea by the strength of it, and not be able to make the island again: and indeed, had I not gotten first upon this hill, I believe it would have been so; for there was the same current on the other side of the island, only that it set off at a farther distance; and I saw there was a strong eddy under the shore; so I had nothing to do but to get out of the first current, and I should presently be in an eddy.

I lay here, however, two days; because the wind blowing pretty fresh (E. at S E. and that being just contrary to the said current) made a great breach of the sea upon the point; so that it was not safe for me to keep too close to the shore for the breach, nor to go too far off because of the stream.

The third day in the morning, the wind having abated over night, the sea was calm, and I ventured;

but I am a warning-piece again to all rash and ignorant pilots; for no sooner was I come to the point, when even I was not my boat's length from the shore, but I found myself in a great depth of water, and a current like the sluice of a mill: It carried my boat along with it with such violence, that all I could do, could not keep her so much as on the edge of it; but I found it hurried me farther and farther out from the eddy, which was on the left-hand. There was no wind stirring to help me, and all that I could do with my paddles signified nothing; and now I began to give myself over for lost; for, as the current was on both sides the island, I knew a few leagues distance they must join again, and then I was irrecoverably gone; nor did I see any possibility of avoiding it; so that I had no prospect before me but of perishing; not by the sea, for that was calm enough, but of starving for hunger. I had indeed found a tortoise on the shore, as big almost as I could lift, and had tossed it into the boat; and I had a great jar of fresh water, that is to say, one of my earthen pots: but what was all this to being driven into the vast ocean, where, to be sure, there was no shore, no main land or island, for a thousand leagues at least?

And now I saw how easy it was for the providence of God to make the most miserable condition that mankind could be in, *worse*. Now I looked back upon my desolate solitary island, as the most pleasant place in the world, and all the happiness my heart could wish for, was to be there again: I stretched out my hands to it with eager wishes; O happy desert! said I, I shall never see thee more; O miserable creature! said I, whi-

wher am I going? Then I reproached myself with my un-
 thankful temper, and how I had repined at my solitary
 condition; and now what would I give to be on shore
 there again? thus we never see the true state of our
 condition, till it is illustrated to us by its contraries;
 nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the
 want of it: It is scarce possible to imagine the conster-
 nation I was now in, being driven from my beloved is-
 land (for so it appeared to me now to be) into the wide
 ocean, almost two leagues, and in the utmost despair of
 ever recovering it again: however, I worked hard,
 till indeed my strength was almost exhausted; and
 kept my boat as much to the *Northward*, that
 is, towards the side of the current which the eddy
 lay on, as possibly I could; when about noon, as
 the sun passed the meridian, I thought I felt a little
 breeze of wind in my face, springing up from the S.
 S. E. This cheered my heart a little, and especially
 when in about half an hour more it blew a pretty
 small gentle gale: by this time I was gotten at a
 frightful distance from the island; and, had the least
 cloud or hazy weather intervened, I had been undone
 another way too; for I had no compass on board,
 and should never have known how to have steered to-
 wards the island, if I had but once lost sight of it;
 but the weather continuing clear, I applyed myself
 to get up my mast again, and spread my sail, standing
 away to the north as much as possible, to get out of
 the current.

Just as I had set my mast and sail, and the boat began
 to stretch away, I saw even by the clearness of the wa-
 ter, some alteration of the current was near: for where

the current was so strong, the water was foul: but perceiving the water clear, I found the current abate, and presently I found on the east, at about half a mile, a breach of the sea upon some rocks; these rocks I found caused the current to part again; and as the main stress of it ran away more southerly, leaving the rocks to the north-east, so the other returned by the repulse of the rock, and made a strong eddy, which ran back again to the north-west with a very sharp stream.

They who know what it is to have a reprieve brought to them upon the ladder, or to be rescued from thieves just going to murder them, or who have been in such like extremities, may guess what my present surprize of joy was, and how gladly I put my boat into the stream of this eddy; and the wind also freshening, how gladly I spread my sail to it, running cheerfully before the wind, and with a strong tide or eddy under foot.

This eddy carried me about a league in my way back again directly towards the island, but about two leagues more towards the northward than the current lay, which carried me away at first; so that when I came near the island, I found myself open to the northern shore of it, that is to say, the other end of the island, opposite to that which I went out from.

When I had made something more than a league of way by the help of this current or eddy, I found it was spent, and saved me no farther. However I found, that being between the two great currents, *viz.* that on the south side which had hurried me away, and that on the north, which lay about two leagues on the o-

ther side ; I say, between these two, in the west of the island, I found the water at least still, and running no way ; and having still a breeze of wind fair for me, I kept on steering directly for the island, though not making such fresh way as I did before.

About 4 o'clock in the evening, being then within about a league of the island, I found the point of the rocks which occasioned this distance stretching out as is described before, to the southwards, and, casting off the current more southwardly, had of course made another eddy to the north, and this I found very strong, but directly setting the way my course lay, which was due west, but almost full north. However, having a fresh gale I stretched across this eddy, slanting north-west, and in about an hour came within about a mile of the shore, where, it being smooth water, I soon got to land.

When I was on shore, I fell on my knees, and gave God thanks for my deliverance, resolving to lay aside all thoughts of my deliverance by my boat ; and refreshing myself with such things as I had, I brought my boat close to the shore in a little cove that I had 'spy'd under some trees, and laid me down to sleep, being quite spent with the labour and fatigue of the voyage.

I was now at a great loss which way to get home with my boat ; I had run so much hazard, and knew too much the case to think of attempting it by the way I went out ; and what might be at the other side (I mean the west side,) I knew not, nor had I any mind to run any more ventures ; so I only resolved in the morning to make my way westward along the shore,

and to see if there was no creek where I might lay up my frigate in safety, so as to have her again if I wanted her. In about three miles, or thereabouts, coasting the shore, I came to a very good inlet, or bay, about a mile over, which narrowed till it came to a very little rivulet, or brook, where I found a convenient harbour for my boat, and where she lay as if she had been in a little dock made on purpose for her; here I put in, and having stowed my boat very safe, I went on shore to look about me, and see where I was.

I soon found I had but a little passed by the place where I had been before, when I travelled on foot to that shore; so taking nothing out of my boat, but my gun and my umbrella for it was exceeding hot, I began my march: The way was comfortable enough after such a voyage as I had been upon, and I reached my old bower in the evening, where I found every thing standing as I left it; for I always kept it in good order, being, as I said before, my country-house.

I got over the fence, and laid me down in the shade to rest my limbs, for I was very weary, and fell asleep: But judge you, if you can, that read my story, what a surprise I must be in, when I was awaked out of my sleep, by a voice calling me by my name several times, *Robin, Robin, Robin Crusoe*, poor *Robin Crusoe*! Where are you, *Robin Crusoe*? Where are you? Where have you been?

I was so dead asleep at first, being fatigued with rowing, or paddling, as it is called, the first part of the day, and walking the latter part, that I did not awake thoroughly; and dozing between sleeping and waking,

thought I dreamed that somebody spoke to me: But as the voice continued to repeat *Robin Cru oe, Robin Crusoe*; at last I began to awake more perfectly, and was at first dreadfully frightened, and started up in the utmost consternation: but no sooner were my eyes open, but I saw my *Poll* sitting on the top of the hedge, and immediately knew that this was he that spoke to me; for just in such bemoaning language I had used to talk to him, and teach him; and he had learned it so perfectly, that he would sit upon my finger, and lay his bill close to my face, and cry, *poor Robin Crusoe, Where are you? Where have you been? How came you here? And such things as I had taught him.*

However, even tho' I knew it was the parrot, and that indeed it could be nobody else, it was a good while before I could compose myself. First, I was amazed how the creature got thither, and then how he should just keep about the place, and no-where else: But as I was well satisfied it could be nobody but honest *Poll*, I got it over; and holding out my hand, and calling him by his name, *Poll*, the sociable creature came to me, and sat upon my thumb, as he used to do, and continued talking to me, *poor Robin Crusoe, and, How did I come here? And, Where had I been?* Just as if he had been overjoyed to see me again; and so I carried him home along with me.

I had now had enough of rambling to sea for some time, and had enough to do for many days to sit still, and reflect upon the danger I had been in: I would have been very glad to have had my boat again on my side of the island, but I knew not how it was practicable to get it about: As to the east-side of the island.

which I had gone round, I knew well enough there was no venturing that way; my very heart would shrink, and my very blood run chill, but to think of it: and to the other side of the island, I did not know how it might be there; but supposing the current ran with the same force against the shore at the east, as it passed by it on the other, I might run the same risque of being driven down the stream, and carried by the island, as I had been before of being carried away from it; so with these thoughts I contented myself to be without any boat, tho' it had been the product of so many months labour to make it, and of so many more to get into the sea.

In this government of my temper I remained near a year, lived a very sedate retired life, as you may well suppose; and my thoughts being very much composed, as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispositions of providence, I thought I lived really very happily in all things, except that of society.

I improved myself, in this time, in all the mechanic exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to; and, I believe, could, upon occasion, have made a very good carpenter, especially considering how few tools I had.

Besides this, I arrived at an unexpected perfection in my earthen-ware, and contrived well enough to make them with a wheel, which I found infinitely easier and better; because I made things round and shapeable, which before were filthy things indeed to look on. But I think I never was more vain of my own performance, or more joyful for any thing I found out, than

for my being able to make a tobacco-pipe; and tho' it was a very ugly clumsy thing when it was done, and only burnt red like other earthen-ware, yet, as it was hard and firm, and would draw the smoke, I was exceedingly comforted with it; for I had been always used to smoke, and there were pipes in the ship, but I forgot them at first, not knowing that there was tobacco in the island; and afterwards, when I searched the ship again, I could not come at any pipes at all.

In my wicker-ware I also improv'd much, and made abundance of necessary baskets, as well as my invention shewed me; tho' not very handsome, yet convenient for my laying things up in, or fetching things home in. For example, if I killed a goat abroad, I could hang it up in a tree, flay it, and dress, and cut it in pieces, and bring it home in a basket; and the like by a turtle, I could cut it up, take out the eggs, and a piece or two of the flesh, which was enough for me, and bring them home in a basket, and leave the rest behind me: also large deep baskets were my receivers for my corn, which I always rubbed out as soon as it was dry, and cured; and kept it in great baskets instead of a granary.

I began now to perceive my powder abated considerably; and this was a want which it was impossible for me to supply, and I began seriously to consider what I must do when I should have no more powder; that is to say, how I should do to kill any goats. I had, as I observed in the third year of my being here, kept a young kid, and bred her up tame; I was in hopes of getting an he-kid, but I could not by any means bring it to pass, till my kid grew an old goat; and I could

never find in my heart to kill her, till she died, at last of mere age.

But being now in the eleventh year of my residence, and, as I have said, my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive, and particularly I wanted a she-goat great with young.

To this purpose I made snares to hamper them; and I believe they were more than once taken in them; but my tackle was not good, for I had no wire, and always found them broken, and my bait devoured.

At length I resolved to try a pit fall, so I dug several large pits in the earth, in places where I had observed the goats used to feed, and over these pits I placed hurdles of my own making too, with a great weight upon them; and several times I put ears of barley, and dry rice, without setting the trap; and I could easily perceive, that the goats had gone in, and eaten up the corn, that I could see the mark of their feet: at length, I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found them all standing, and yet the bait eaten, and gone: this was very discouraging; however, I altered my traps; and, not to trouble you with particulars, going one morning to see my traps, I found, in one of them, a large old he-goat; and, in one of the others three kids, a male and two females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him; he was so fierce I durst not go into the pit to him; that is to say, to go about to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted: I could have killed him, but that was not my business, nor would it answer my

end; so I e'en let him out, and he ran away as if he had been frighten'd out of his wits; but I did not then know what I afterwards learned, that hunger will tame a lion: If I had let him stay there three or four days without food, and then have carried him some water to drink, and then a little corn, he would have been as tame as one of the kids; for they are mighty sagacious tractable creatures, where they are well used.

However, for the present I let him go, knowing no better at that time; then I went to the three kids, and, taking them one by one, I ty'd them with strings together, and with some difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed, but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame: and now I found, that if I expected to supply myself with goats-flesh, when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way, when perhaps I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep.

But then it presently occur'd to me, that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up; and the only way for this was to have some inclos'd piece of ground, well fenc'd either with hedge or pale, to keep them up so effectually, that those within might not break out, or those without break in.

This was a great undertaking for one pair of hands; yet as I saw there was an absolute necessity of doing it, my first piece of work was to find out a proper piece of ground; viz. where there was likely to be herbage for

them to eat, water for them to drink, and cover to keep them from the sun.

Those who understand such inclosures, will think I had very little contrivance, when I pitched upon a place very proper for all these, being a plain open piece of meadow-land or *Savanna* (as our people call it in the western colonies) which had two or three little drills of fresh water in it, and at one end was very woody; I say they will smile at my forecast, when I shall tell them I began my inclosing of this piece of ground in such a manner, that my hedge or pale must have been at least two miles about; nor was the madness of it so great as to the compass; for if it was ten miles about, I was like to have time enough to do it in; but I did not consider, that my goats would be as wild in so much compass, as if they had had the whole island; and I should have so much room to chace them in, that I should never catch them.

My hedge was begun and carried on, I believe, about fifty Yards, when this thought occur'd to me; so I presently sto, p'd short, and for the first beginning I resolv'd to inclose a piece of about 150 yards in length, and 100 yards in breadth which as it would maintain as many as I should have in any reasonable time, so, as my flock increased, I could add more ground to my inclosure.

This was acting with some prudence, and I went to work with courage. I was about three months hedging in the first piece; and, till I had done it, I tether'd the three kids in the best part of it, and used them to feed as near me as possible, to make them familiar; and very often I would go and carry them some ears of barley, or an handful of rice, and feed them out of my

hand; so that after my inclosure was finish'd, and I let them loose, they would follow me up and down, bleating after me for an handful of corn.

This answer'd my end, and in about a year and a half I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and in two years more I had three-and-forty, besides several that I took and kill'd for my food; and after that I inclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted them; and gates out of one piece of ground into another.

But this was not all; for now I not only had goat's flesh to feed on when I pleas'd, but milk too, a thing which indeed in my beginning, I did not so much as think of, and which, when it came into my thoughts was really an agreeable surprize; for now I set up my dairy, and had sometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day. And as nature, who gives supplies of food to every creature, dictates even naturally how to make use of it; so I, that never milk'd a cow, much less a goat, or saw butter or cheese made, very readily and handily, tho' after a great many essays and miscarriages, made me both butter and cheese at last, and never wanted it afterwards.

How mercifully can our great creator treat his creatures, even in those conditions in which they seem'd to be overwhelm'd in destruction! How can he sweeten the bitterest providences, and give us cause to praise him for dungeons and prisons! What a table was here spread for me in a wilderness, where I saw nothing at first but to perish for hunger!

It would have made a stoick smile, to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner; there was my

majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island ; I had the lives of all my subjects at absolute command ; I could hang, draw, give life and liberty, and take it away, and no rebels among all my subjects.

Then to see how like a king I dined too, all alone, attended by my servants ! *Poll*, as if he had been my favourite, was the only person permitted to talk to me ; my dog, which was now grown very old and crazy, and found no species to multiply his kind upon, sat always at my right-hand ; and two cats, one on one side of the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand as a mark of special favour.

But these were not the two cats which I brought on shore at first ; for they were both of them dead, and had been interred near my habitation by my own hands : but one of them having multiply'd by I know not what kind of creature, these were two which I preserved tame, whereas the rest ran wild in the woods, and became indeed troublesome to me at last ; for they would often come into my house, and plunder me too, till at last I was obliged to shoot them, and did kill a great many ; at last they left me with this attendance, and in this plentiful manner I lived ; neither could I be said to want any thing but society, and of that, in some time after this, I was like to have too much.

I was something impatient, as I had observed, to have the use of my boat, though very loath to run any more hazard ; and therefore sometimes I sat contriving ways to get her about the island, and at other times I sat down contented enough without her. But I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to

the point of the island, where, as I have said, in my last ramble, I went up the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current set, that I might see what I had to do: This inclination increased upon me every day, and at length I resolved to travel thither by land, and following the edge of the shore, I did so: But had any one in *England* been to meet such a man as I was, it must either have frightened them, or raised a great deal of laughter; and as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through *Yorkshire* with such an equipage, and in such a dress. Be pleased to take a sketch of my figure, as follows:

I had a great high shapeless cap, made of goat's skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the sun from me, as to shoot the rain off from running into my neck; nothing being so hurtful in these climates, as the rain upon the flesh under the cloaths.

I had a short jacket of goat's skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs, and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the same: The breeches were made of the skin of an old he goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like *Pontoloons*, it reached the middle of my legs. Stockings and shoes I had none; but I had made me a pair of something, I scarce knew what to call them, like buskins, to flap over my legs, and lace on either side like spatterdashes, but of a most barbarous shape, as indeed were all the rest of my cloaths.

I had on a broad belt of goat's skin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the same instead of buckles; and in a kind of frog on either side of this,

instead of a sword and dagger, hung a little saw and an hatchet, one on one side, one on the other : I had another belt not so broad, and fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder ; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's skin too ; in one of which hung my powder, in the other my shot : At my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder my gun, and over my head a great clumsy ugly goat skin umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun : As for my face, the colour of it was not really so *Mulatto*-like, as one might expect from a man not at all careful of it, and living within 9 or 10 degrees of the equinox. My beard I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long ; but as I had both scissars and razors sufficient, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip, which I had trimmed into a large pair of *Mahometan* whiskers, such as I had seen worn by some *Turks*, whom I saw at *Sallee* ; for the *Moors* did not wear such, though the *Turks* did : Of these mustachios, or whiskers, I will not say they were long enough to hang my hat upon them ; but they were of a length and shape monstrous enough, and such as in *England* would have passed for frightful.

But all this is by the bye ; for as to my figure I had so few to observe me, that it was of no manner of consequence ; so I say no more of that part : In this kind of figure I went my new journey, and was out five or six days. I travelled first along the sea-shore, directly to the place where I first brought my boat to an anchor, to get up upon the rock ; and having no

boat now to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way, to the same height that I was upon before; when looking forward to the point of the rock which lay out, and which I was to double with my boat, as I said above, I was surpriz'd to see the sea all smooth and quiet; no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolv'd to spend some time in the observing it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it: But I was presently convinced how it was; viz. That the tide of ebb setting from the West, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current; and that according as the wind blew more forcible from the West, or from the North, this current came near, or went farther from the shore; for waiting thereabouts till evening, I went up to the rock again, and then the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore; whereas in my case, it set close upon the shore, and hurried me in my *Canoë* along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

This observation convinced me, that I had nothing to do but to observe the ebbing and the flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island again: But when I began to think of putting it in practice, I had such a terror upon my spirits at the remembrance of the danger I had been in, that I could not think of it again with any patience; but on the contrary, I took up another resolution, which was

more safe, tho' more laborious; and this was, that I would build, or rather make me another Periagua, or Canoe; and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

You are to understand, that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island; one my little fortification or tent, with the wall about it under the rock, with the cave behind me, which by this time I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out beyond my wall or fortification, that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled with the large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hand.

As for my wall made, as before, with long stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of any habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay two pieces of corn-ground; which I kept duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded me their harvest in its season; and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my country-seat, and I had now a tolerable plantation there also; for first, I had my little bower, as I called it, which I kept in repair;

that is to say, I kept the hedge which circled it in, constantly fitted up to its usual height, the ladder standing always in the inside : I kept the trees, which at first were no more than my stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall ; I kept them always so cut, that they might spread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable shade, which they did effectually to my mind. In the middle of this I had my tent always standing, being a piece of a sail spread over poles set up for that purpose, and which never wanted any repair or renewing ; and under this I had made me a squab or couch, with the skins of the creatures I had killed, and with other soft things, and a blanket laid on them, such as belonged to our sea-bedding, which I had saved, and a great watch-coat to cover me ; and here, whenever I had occasion to be absent from my chief seat, I took up my country habitation.

Adjoining to this I had my inclosures for my cattle, that is to say, my goats : And as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and inclose this ground, I was so uneasy to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till with infinite labour I had stuck the outside of the hedge so full of small stakes, and so near one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarce room to put a hand through between them, which afterwards, when these stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy season, made the inclosure strong like a wall, and indeed stronger than any wall.

This will testify for me that I was not idle, and that I spared no pains to bring to pass whatever appeared necessary for my comfortable support ; for I consider-

ed the keeping up a breed of tame creatures thus at my hand, would be a living magazine of flesh, milk, butter and cheese for me, as long as I lived in the place, if it were to be forty years; and that keeping them in my reach, depended intirely upon my perfecting my inclosures to such a degree, that I might be sure of keeping them together; which by this method indeed I so effectually secured, that when these little stakes began to grow, I had planted them so very thick, I was forced to pull some of them up again.

In this place also I had my grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my winter store of raisins, and which I never failed to preserve very carefully, as the best and most agreeable dainty of my whole diet; and indeed they were not agreeable only, but physical, wholesome, nourishing and refreshing to the last degree.

As this was also about half-way between my habitation and the place where I laid up my boat, I generally staid and lay here in the way thither; for I used frequently to use my boat, and I kept all things about or belonging to her in very good order: sometimes I went out in her to divert myself, but no more hazardous voyages would I go, nor scarce ever above a stone's cast or two from the shore. I was so apprehensive of being hurried out of my knowledge again by the currents, or winds, or any other accident: But now I come to a new scene of my life.

It happened one day about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprized with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand: I stood like one thunderstruck,

or as if I had seen an apparition ; I listened, I looked round me, I could hear nothing, nor see any thing ; I went up to a rising ground to look farther ; I went up the shore and down the shore, but it was all one, I could see no other impression but that one ; I went to it again to see if there were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy ; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot : how it came thither I knew not, nor could in the least imagine. But after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused, and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree, looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man ; nor is it possible to describe, how many various shapes an affrighted imagination represented things to me in ; how many wild ideas were formed every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts by the way.

When I came to my castle, for so I think I called it ever after this, I fled into it like one pursued ; whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, which, I cannot remember ; for never frightened hare fled to cover, or fox to earth, with more terror of mind than I to this retreat.

I had no sleep that night ; the farther I was from the occasion of my fright, the greater my apprehensions were ; which is something contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of

all creatures in fear : But I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even tho' I was now a great way off it. Sometimes I fancied it must be the devil; and reason joined in with me in this supposition : for how should any other thing in human shape come into this place? Where was the vessel that brought them? What marks were there of any other footsteps? And how was it possible a man should come there? But then to think that Satan should take a human shape upon him in such a place, where there could be no manner of occasion for it, but to leave the print of his foot behind him, and that even for no purpose too (for he could not be sure I should see it) this was an amazement the other way : I considered that the devil might have found out abundance of other ways to have terrified me, than this of the single print of a foot : That as I lived quite on the other side of the island, he would never have been so simple to leave a mark in a place where it was ten thousand to one whether I should ever see it or not, and in the sand too, which the first surge of the sea upon an high wind would have defac'd entirely : All this seemed inconsistent with the thing itself, and with all the notions we usually entertain of the subtlety of the devil.

Abundance of such things as these assisted to argue me out of all apprehensions of its being the devil ; and I presently concluded then that it must be some more dangerous creature, *viz.* That it must be some of the savages of the main land over-against me, who had wandered out to sea in their canoes, and, either driven

by the currents, or by contrary winds, had made the island; and had been on shore, but were gone away again to sea, being as loth, perhaps, to have staid in this desolate island, as I would have been to have had them.

While those reflexions were rolling upon my mind, I was very thankful in my thought, that I was so happy as not to be thereabouts at that time, or that they did not see my boat, by which they would have concluded, that some inhabitants had been in the place, and perhaps have searched farther for me: Then terrible thoughts racked my imaginations about their having found my boat, and that there were people here; and that if so, I should certainly have them come again in greater numbers, and devour me; that if it should happen so that they should not find me, yet they would find my inclosure, destroy all my corn, carry away all my flock of tame goats, and I should perish at last for mere want.

Thus my fear banish'd all my religious hope; all that former confidence in God, which was founded upon such wonderful experience as I had had of his goodness, now vanished; as if he that had fed me by miracle hitherto, could not preserve by his power the provision which he had made for me by his goodness. I reproached myself with my easiness, that would not sow any more corn one year than would just serve me till the next season, as if no accident could intervene to prevent my enjoying the crop that was upon the ground: And this I thought so just a reproof, that I resolved for the future to have two or three years corn

before-hand, so that whatever might come, I might not perish for want of bread.

How strange a chequer-work of providence is the life of man ! And by what secret differing springs are the affections hurried about, as differing circumstances present ! To-day we love what to-morrow we hate ; to-day we seek what to-morrow we shun ; to-day we desire what to-morrow we fear ; nay, even tremble at the apprehensions of. This was exemplified in me at this time in the most lively manner imaginable ; for I, whose only affliction was, that I seemed banished from human society, that I was alone, circumscribed by the boundless ocean, cut off from mankind, and condemned to what I call silent life ; that I was as one whom heaven thought not worthy to be numbered among the living, or to appear among the rest of his creatures ; that to have seen one of my own species, would have seemed to me a raising from death to life, and the greatest blessing that heaven itself, next to the supreme blessing of salvation, could bestow ; I say, that I should now tremble at the very apprehensions of seeing a man, and was ready to sink into the ground, at but the shadow, or silent appearance of a man's having set his foot on the island.

Such is the uneven state of human life ; and it afforded me a great many curious speculations afterwards, when I had a little recovered my surprize ; I considered that this was the station of life the infinitely wise and good Providence of God had determined for me ; that as I could not foresee what the ends of divine wisdom might be in all this, so I was not to dispute his sovereignty, who, as I was his creature, had

an undoubted right by creation to govern and dispose of me absolutely as he thought fit; and who, as I was a creature who had offended him, had likewise a judicial right to condemn me to what punishment he thought fit; and that it was my part to submit to bear his indignation, because I had sinned against him.

I then reflected, that God, who was not only righteous, but omnipotent, as he had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so he was able to deliver me; that if he did not think fit to do it, it was my unquestioned duty to resign myself absolutely and entirely to his will: And, on the other hand, it was my duty also to hope in him, pray to him, and quietly to attend the dictates and directions of his daily providence.

These thoughts took me up many hours, days, nay, I may say, weeks and months; and one particular effect of my cogitations on this occasion, I cannot omit; viz. One morning early, lying in my bed, and filled with thoughts about my danger from the appearance of savages, I found it discomposed me very much; upon which these words of the scripture came into my thoughts, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.*

Upon this rising chearfully out of my bed, my heart was not only comforted, but I was guided and encouraged to pray earnestly to God for deliverance: When I had done praying, I took up my bible, and opening it to read, the first words that presented to me, were, *Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and he shall strengthen thy heart; Wait, I say, on the Lord.* It is impossible to express the comfort this gave me; and in

return; thankfully laid down the book, and was no more sad, at least, not on that occasion.

In the middle of these cogitations, apprehensions, and reflexions, it came into my thoughts one day, that all this might be a mere chimera of my own; and that this foot might be the print of my own foot, when I came on shore from my boat: This cheered me up a little too, and I began to persuade myself it was all a delusion; that it was nothing else but my own foot; and why might not I come that way from the boat, as well as I was going that way to the boat? Again I considered also, that I could by no means tell for certain where I had trod, and where I had not; and that if at last this was only the print of my own foot, I had played the part of those fools, who strive to make stories of spectres and apparitions, and then are themselves frightened at them more than any body else.

Now I began to take courage, and to peep abroad again; for I had not stirred out of my castle for three days and nights, so that I began to starve for want of provision; for I had little or nothing within doors, but some barley-cakes and water. Then I knew, that my goats wanted to be milked too, which usually was my evening diversion; and the poor creatures were in great pain and inconvenience for want of it; and indeed it almost spoiled some of them, and almost dried up their milk.

Heartening myself therefore with the belief, that this was nothing but the print of one of my own feet (and so I might be truly said to start at my own shadow) I began to go abroad again, and went to my country-house to milk my flock; but to see with what

fear I went forward, and how often I looked behind me, how I was ready, every now and then, to lay down my basket, and run for my life, it would have made any one have thought I was haunted with an evil conscience, or that I had been lately most terribly frightened; and so indeed I had.

However, as I went down thus two or three days; and having seen nothing, I began to be a little bolder, and to think there was really nothing in it but my own imagination; but I could not persuade myself fully of this, till I should go down to the shore again, and see this print of a foot, and measure it by my own, and see if there was any similitude or fitness, that I might be assured it was my own foot: But when I came to the place first, it appeared evidently to me, that when I laid up my boat, I could not possibly be on shore anywhere thereabouts: Secondly, when I came to measure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not so large by a great deal: Both these things filled my head with new imaginations, and gave me the vapours again to the highest degree; so that I shook with cold like one in an ague, and I went home again, filled with the belief that some man or men had been on shore there; or, in short, that the island was inhabited, and I might be surprised before I was aware; and what course to take for my security, I knew not.

O what ridiculous resolutions men take, when possessed with fear! It deprives them of the use of those means, which reason offers for their relief. The first thing I proposed to myself was, to throw down my inclosures, and turn all my tame cattle wild into the woods; that the enemy might not find them, and then

frequent the island in prospect of the same, or the like booty; then to the simple thing of digging up my two corn-fields, that they might not find such a grain there, and still be prompted to frequent the island; then to demolish my bower and tent, that they might not see any vestiges of my habitation, and be prompted to look farther, in order to find out the persons inhabiting.

These were the subjects of the first night's cogitation, after I was come home again, while the apprehensions which had so over-run my mind were fresh upon me, and my head was full of vapours, as above. Thus fear of danger is ten thousand times more terrifying than danger itself, when apparent to the eyes; and we find the burden of anxiety, greater by much, than the evil which we are anxious about; but, which was worse than all this, I had not this relief in that trouble for the resignation I used to practise, that I hoped to have. I looked, I thought, like *Saul*, who complained not only that the *Philistines* were upon him, but that God had forsaken him; for I did not now take due ways to compose my mind, by crying to God in my distress, and resting upon his Providence, as I had done before, for my defence and deliverance; which if I had done, I had, at least, been more chearfully supported under this new surprize, and perhaps carried through it with more resolution.

This confusion of my thoughts kept me waking all night; but in the morning I fell asleep, and having by the amusement of my mind been, as it were, tired, and my spirits exhausted, I slept very soundly, and awaked much better composed than I had been before: And now I began to think sedately; and, upon the ut-

most debate with myself, I concluded, that this island, which was so exceeding pleasant, fruitful, and no farther from the main land than as I had seen, was not so intirely abandoned as I might imagine: That although there were no stated inhabitants who lived on the spot; yet that there might sometimes come boats off from the shore, who either with design, or perhaps never but when they were driven by cross winds, might come to this place.

That I had lived here 15 years now, and had not met with the least shadow or figure of any people before; and that if at any time they should be driven here, it was probable they went away again as soon as ever they could, seeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any occasion, to this time.

That the most I could suggest any danger from, was, from any such casual accidental landing of straggling people from the main, who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here against their wills; so they made no stay here, but went off again with all possible speed, seldom staying one night on shore, lest they should not have the help of the tides and day-light back again; and that therefore I had nothing to do but to consider of some safe retreat, in case I should see any savages land upon the spot.

Now I began sorely to repent, that I had dug my cave so large, as to bring a door through again, which door, as I said, came out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock. Upon maturely considering this therefore, I resolved to draw me a second fortification, in the same manner of a semicircle, at a distance from my wall, just where I had planted a double row

of trees about twelve years before, of which I made mention: These trees having been planted so thick before, there wanted but few piles to be driven between them, that they should be thicker and stronger, and my wall would be soon finished.

So that I had now a double wall, and my outer wall was thickened with pieces of timber, old cables, and every thing I could think of to make it strong; having in it seven holes, about as big as I might put my arm out at it. In the inside of this I thickened my wall to about ten feet thick, continually bringing earth out of my cave, and laying it at the foot of the wall, and walking upon it; and through the seven holes I contrived to plant the musquets, of which I took notice, that I got seven on shore out of the ship; these, I say, I planted like my cannon, and fitted them into frames that held them like a carriage, that so I could fire all the seven guns in two minutes time: This wall I was many a weary month in finishing, and yet never thought myself safe till it was done.

When this was done, I stuck all the ground without my wall, for a great way every way, as full with stakes or sticks of the osier-like wood, which I found so apt to grow as they could well stand; insomuch that I believe I might set in near twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

Thus in two years time I had a thick grove; and in five or six years time I had a wood before my dwelling, grown so monstrous thick and strong, that it was

indeed perfectly impassable ; and no man of what kind soever, would ever imagine, that there was any thing beyond it, much less an habitation : As for the way I proposed to myself to go in and out (for I left no avenue) it was by setting two ladders ; one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, and left room to place another ladder upon that ; so when the two ladders were taken down, no man living could come down to me without mischieving himself ; and if they had come down, they were still on the outside of my outer wall.

Thus I took all the measures human prudence could suggest for my own preservation ; and it will be seen at length that they were not altogether without just reason ; though I foresaw nothing at that time, more than my mere fear suggested to me.

While this was doing, I was not altogether careless of my other affairs ; so I had a great concern upon me for my little herd of goats ; they were not only a present supply to me upon every occasion, and began to be sufficient to me without the expence of powder and shot, but also abated my fatigue of hunting after the wild ones ; and I was loth to lose the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up over again.

To this purpose, after long consideration, I could think of but two ways to preserve them ; one was to find another convenient place to dig a cave under ground, and to drive them into it every night ; and the other was to inclose two or three little bits of land, remote from one another, and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place ; so that if any disaster happened to

the flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little trouble and time : and this, though it would require a great deal of time and labour, I thought was the most rational design.

Accordingly I spent some time to find out the most retired parts of the island ; and I pitched upon one which was indeed as private as my heart could wish ; for it was a little damp piece of ground in the middle of the hollow and thick woods, where, as is observed, I almost lost myself once before, endeavouring to come back that way from the eastern part of the island ; Here I found a clear piece of land near three acres, so surrounded with woods, that it was almost an inclosure by nature ; at least, it did not want near so much labour to make it so, as the other pieces of ground I had worked so hard at.

I immediately went to work upon this piece of ground, and in less than a month's time I had so fenced it round, that my flock or herd, call it which you please, which were not so wild now as at first they might be supposed to be, were well enough secured in it. So without any farther delay, I removed ten she-goats and two he-goats to this piece ; and when they were there I continued to perfect the fence, till I had made it as secure as the other, which, however I did at more leisure, and it took me up more time by a great deal.

All this labour I was at the expence of, purely from my apprehensions on the account of the print of a man's foot which I had seen ; for as yet, I never saw any human creature come near the island, and I had now lived two years under these uneasinesses, which indeed made my life much less comfortable than it was

before; as may well be imagined, by any who know what it is to live in the constant snare of the fear of man; and this I must observe with grief too, that the discomposure of my mind had too great impressions also upon the religious part of my thoughts; for the dread and terror of falling into the hands of savages and canibals lay so upon my spirits, that I seldom found myself in a due temper for application to my Maker; at least, not with the sedate calmness and resignation of soul which I was wont to do. I rather prayed to God as under great affliction and pressure of mind, surrounded with danger, and in expectation every night of being murdered and devoured before morning; and I must testify from my experience, that a temper of peace, thankfulness, love and affection, is much the more proper frame for prayer than that of terror and discomposure; and that under the dread of mischief impending, a man is no more fit for a comforting performance of the duty of praying to God, than he is for repentance on a sick bed; for these discomposures affect the mind as the others do the body; and the discomposure of the mind must necessarily be as great a disability as that of the body, and much greater; praying to God being properly an act of the mind, not of the body.

But to go on; after I had thus secured one part of my little living stock, I went about the whole island, searching for another private place, to make such another deposit; when wandering more to the west point of the island than I had ever done yet, and looking out to sea, I thought I saw a boat upon the sea, at a great distance; I had found a perspective glass or two, in one

of the seamen's chests, which I saved out of our ship; but I had it not about me, and this was so remote, that I could not tell what to make of it, though I looked at it till my eyes were not able to look any longer; whether it was a boat, or not, I do not know; but as I descended the hill, I could see no more of it, so I gave it over; only I resolved to go no more without a perspective-glass in my pocket.

When I was come down the hill, to the end of the island, where indeed I had never been before, I was presently convinced, that the seeing the print of a man's foot, was not such a strange thing in the island as I imagined; and, but that it was a special Providence that I was cast upon the side of the island where the savages never came, I should easily have known, that nothing was more frequent than for the Canoes from the main, when they happened to be a little too far out at sea, to shoot over to that side of the island for harbour; likewise as they often met and fought in their Canoes, the victors having taken any prisoners, would bring them over to this shore, where, according to their dreadful customs, being all canibals, they would kill and eat them: Of which hereafter.

When I was come down the hill to the shore, as I said above, being the S. W. point of the island, I was perfectly confounded and amazed; nor is it possible for me to express the horror of my mind, at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies; and particularly I observed a place where there had been a fire made, and a circle dug in the earth, like a cock-pit, where it is supposed the sa-

vage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feastings upon the bodies of their fellow creatures.

I was so astonished with the sight of these things, that I entertained no notions of any danger to myself from it, for a long while; all my apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman, hellish brutality, and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature; which, though I had often heard of, yet I never had so near a view of before; in short, I turned away my face from the horrid spectacle; my stomach grew sick, and I was just at the point of fainting, when nature discharged the disorder from my stomach, and, having vomited with an uncommon violence, I was a little relieved, but could not bear to stay in the place a moment; so I got up the hill again, with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When I came a little out of that part of the island, I stood still a while as amazed; and then recovering myself, I looked up with the utmost affection of my soul, and, with a flood of tears in my eyes, gave God thanks, that had cast my first lot in a part of the world, where I was distinguished from such dreadful creatures as these; and that tho' I had esteemed my present condition very miserable, had yet given me so many comforts in it, that I had still more to give thanks for, than to complain of; and above all, that I had even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of himself, and the hope of his blessing, which was a felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the misery which I had suffered, or could suffer.

In this frame of thankfulness, I went home to my

castle, and began to be much easier now, as to the safety of my circumstances, than ever I was before; for I observed, that these wretches never came to this island in search of what they could get; perhaps not seeking, not wanting, or not expecting any thing here; and having often, no doubt, been up in the covered woody part of it, without finding any thing to their purpose: I knew I had been here now almost eighteen years, and never saw the least footsteps of a human creature there before; and might be here eighteen more as intirely concealed as I was now, if I did not discover myself to them, which I had no manner of occasion to do, it being my only business to keep myself intirely concealed, where I was, unless I found a better sort of creatures than canibals to make myself known to.

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches that I have been speaking of, and of the wretched inhuman custom of their devouring and eating one another up, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this: When I say my own circle, I mean by it, my three plantations, *viz.* my castle, my country-seat, which I called my bower, and my inclosure in the woods; nor did I look after this for any other use, than as an inclosure for my goats; for the aversion which nature gave me to these hellish wretches was such, that I was as fearful of seeing them, as of seeing the devil himself; nor did I so much as go to look after my boat in all this time, but began rather to think of making me another; for I could not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat

round the island to me, lest I should meet with some of those creatures at sea, in which, if I had happened to have fallen into their hands, I knew what would have been my lot.

Time however, and the satisfaction I had, that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them; and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before, only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me, than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them; and particularly, I was more cautious of firing my gun, lest any of them on the island should happen to hear it, and it was therefore a very good providence to me, that I had furnished myself with a tame breed of goats, that I had no need to hunt any more about the woods, or shoot at them; and if I did catch any more of them after this, it was by traps and snares, as I had done before; so that for two years after this, I believe, I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it; and, which is more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my goat-skin belt: I likewise furbished up one of the great cut-laces that I had out of the ship, and made me a belt to put in on also; so that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at, when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself, the particular of two pistols, and a great broad sword hanging at my side in a belt, but without a scabbard.

Things going on thus, as I have said, for some time, I seemed, excepting these cautions, to be reduced to my

former calm sedate way of living ; all these things tended to shew me more and more how far my condition was from being miserable, compared to some others ; nay, to many other particulars of life, which it might have pleased God to have made my lot. It put me upon reflecting, how little repining there would be among mankind, at any condition of life, if people would rather compare their condition with those that are worse, in order to be thankful, than be always comparing them with those which are better, to assist their murmurings and complaints.

As in my present condition there were not really many things which I wanted, so indeed I thought that the frights I had been in about these savage wretches, and the concern I had been in for my own preservation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own conveniencies, and I had dropt a good design, which I had once bent my thoughts upon ; and that was, to try if I could not make some of my barley into malt, and then try to brew myself some beer : this was really a whimsical thought, and I reproved myself often for the simplicity of it ; for I presently saw there would be the want of several things necessary to the making my beer, that it would be impossible for me to supply ; as, first, casks to preserve it in, which was a thing that, as I have observed already, I could never compass ; no, though I spent, not many days, but weeks, nay months, in attempting it, but to no purpose. In the next place, I had no hops to make it keep, no yeast to make it work, no copper or kettle to make it boil ; and yet, had not all these things intervened, I mean the frights and terrors I was in a-

about the savages, I had undertaken it, and perhaps brought it to pass too; for I seldom gave any thing over without accomplishing it, when I once had in my head enough to begin it.

But my invention now ran quite another way; for night and day I could think of nothing, but how I might destroy some of these monsters in their cruel bloody entertainment; and, if possible, save the victim they should bring hither to destroy. It would take up a larger volume than this whole work is intended to be, to set down all the contrivances I hatched, or rather brooded upon in my thoughts, for the destroying these creatures, or at least frightening them, so as to prevent their coming hither any more; but all was abortive; nothing could be possible to take effect, unless I was to be there to do it myself; and what could one man do among them, when perhaps there might be twenty or thirty of them together, with their darts, or their bows and arrows, with which they would shoot as true to a mark as I could with my gun?

Sometimes I contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put in five or six pounds of gunpowder, which, when they kindled their fire, would consequently take fire, and blow up all that was near it; but, as in the first place I should be very loth to waste so much powder upon them, my store being now within the quantity of a barrel; so neither could I be sure of its going off at any certain time, when it might surprize them; and, at best, that it would do little more than blow the fire about their ears, and fright them, but not sufficient to make them forsake the place; so I laid it aside, and then proposed,

that I would place myself in ambush, in some convenient place, with my three guns all double loaded, and in the middle of their bloody ceremony let fly at them, when I should be sure to kill or wound perhaps two or three at every shot; and then falling in upon them with my three pistols, and my sword, I made no doubt but that, if there were twenty, I should kill them all: This fancy pleased my thoughts for some weeks, and I was so full of it, that I often dreamed of it; and sometimes that I was just going to let fly at them in my sleep.

I went so far with it in my imagination that I employed myself several days, to find out proper places to put myself in ambuscade, as I said, to watch for them; and I went frequently to the place itself, which was now grown more familiar to me; and especially while my mind was thus filled with thoughts of revenge, and of a bloody putting twenty or thirty of them to the sword, as I may call it; but the horror I had at the place, and at the signals of the barbarous wretches devouring one another, abated my malice.

Well, at length I found a place in the side of the hill where I was satisfied I might securely wait till I saw any of the boats coming, and might then, even before they would be ready to come on shore, convey myself unseen into thickets of trees, in one of which there was an hollow large enough to conceal me entirely; and where I might sit, and observe all their bloody doings, and take my full aim at their heads, when they were so close together, as that it would be next to impossible that I should miss my shot, or that I could fail wounding three or four of them at the first shot.

In this place then I resolv'd to fix my design; and accordingly I prepared two muskets, and my ordinary fowling-piece. The two muskets I loaded with a brace of flugs each, and four or five smaller bullets, about the size of pistol-bullets; and the fowling-piece I loaded with near an handful of swan-shot, of the largest size; I also loaded my pistols with about four bullets each: and in this posture, well provided with ammunition for a second and third charge, I prepar'd myself for my expedition.

After I had thus laid the scheme for my design, and in my imagination put it in practice, I continually made my tour every morning up to the top of the hill, which was from my castle, as I called it, about three miles, or more, to see if I could observe any boats upon the sea, coming near the island, or standing over towards it; but I began to tire of this hard duty, after I had for two or three months constantly kept my watch; but came always back without any discovery, there having not in all that time been the least appearance, not only on or near the shore, but not on the whole ocean, so far as my eyes or glasses could reach every way.

As long as I kept up my daily tour to the hill to look out, so long also I kept up the vigour of my design, and my spirits seemed to be all the while in a suitable frame, for so outrageous an execution, as the killing twenty or thirty naked savages for an offence, which I had not at all enter'd into a discussion of in my thoughts any further than passions were are first fired by the horror I conceiv'd at the unnatural custom of the people of that country, who, it seems, had been suffered by

providence, in his wise disposition of the world, to have no other guide than that of their own abominable and vitiated passions; and consequently were left, and perhaps had been for some ages, to act such horrid things, and receive such dreadful customs as nothing but nature, intirely abandon'd of heaven, and actuated by some hellish degeneracy, could have run them into: but now, when, as I have said, I began to be weary of the fruitless excursion which I had made so long, and so far, every morning in vain; so my opinion of the action itself began to alter, and I began with cooler and calmer thoughts to consider what it was I was going to engage in; what authority or call I had, to pretend to be judge and executioner upon these men as criminals, whom heaven had thought fit for so many ages to suffer, unpunished, to go on, and to be, as it were, the executioners of his judgments upon one another; also how far these people were offenders against me, and what right I had to engage in the quarrel of that blood, which they shed promiscuously one upon another: I debated this very often with myself thus; how do I know what God himself judges in this particular case? It is certain these people do not commit this as a crime: it is not against their own consciences reproving, or their light reproaching them. They do not know it to be an offence, and then commit it in defiance of divine justice, as we do in almost all the sins we commit. They think it no more a crime to kill a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox; nor to eat human flesh, than we do to eat mutton.

When I had consider'd this a little, it follow'd necessarily, that I was certainly in the wrong in it; that

these people were not murderers in the sense that I had before condemn'd them in my thoughts, any more than those christians were murderers, who often put to death the prisoners taken in battle, or more frequently, upon many occasions, put whole troops of men to the sword, without giving quarter, though they threw down their arms, and submitted.

In the next place, it occurred to me, that albeit the usage they gave one another was thus brutish and inhuman, yet it was really nothing to me : these people had done me no injury : that if they attempted me, or I saw it necessary for my immediate preservation to fall upon them, something might be said for it ; but that I was yet out of their power, and they had really no knowledge of me, and consequently no design upon me ; and therefore it could not be just for me to fall upon them : that this would justify the conduct of the *Spaniards*, in all their barbarities practised in *America*, where they destroyed millions of these people, who, however they were idolaters and barbarians, and had several bloody and barbarous rites in their customs, such as sacrificing human bodies to their idols, were yet, as to the *Spaniards*, very innocent people ; and that the rooting them out of the country is spoken of with the utmost abhorrence and detestation, even by the *Spaniards* themselves, at this time, and by all other christian nations of *Europe*, as a mere butchery, a bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or man : and such, as for which the very name of a *Spaniard* is reckoned to be frightful and terrible to all people of humanity, or of christian compassion : as if the kingdom of *Spain* were particularly eminent for the product

of a race of men, who were without principles of tenderness and humanity.

These considerations really put me to a pause, and to a kind of full stop; and I began by little and little to be off of my design, and to conclude that I had taken wrong measures in my resolutions to attack the savages; that it was not my business to meddle with them, unless they first attacked me, and this it was my business, if possible, to prevent; but that, if I were discovered and attacked, then I knew my duty.

On the other hand I argued with myself, that this really was the way not to deliver myself, but intirely to ruin and destroy myself; for unless I was sure to kill every one that not only should be on shore at that time, but that ever should come on shore afterwards, if but one of them escaped to tell their country-people what had happened, they would come over again by thousands to revenge the death of their fellows, and I should only bring upon myself a certain destruction, which at present I had no manner of occasion for.

Upon the whole, I concluded, that neither in principles nor in policy, I ought one way or other to concern myself in this affair: That my business was, by all possible means to conceal myself from them, and not to leave the least signal to them to guess by, that there were any living creatures upon the island, I mean of human shape.

Religion joined in with this prudential, and I was convinced now many ways, that I was perfectly out of my duty, when I was laying all my bloody schemes for the destruction of innocent creatures, I mean innocent as to me: As to the crimes they were guilty of towards one another, I had nothing to do with them,

there were national punishments to make a just retribution for national offences; and to bring publick judgments upon those who offend in a publick manner, by such ways as best please God.

This appeared so clear to me now, that nothing was a greater satisfaction to me, than that I had not been suffered to do a thing which I now saw so much reason to believe would have been no less a sin than that of wilful murder, if I had committed it; and I gave most humble thanks on my knees to God, that had thus delivered me from blood-guiltiness; beseeching him to grant me the protection of his Providence, that I might not fall into the hands of Barbarians; or that I might not lay my hands upon them, unless I had a more clear call from heaven to do it, in defence of my own life.

In this disposition I continued for near a year after this; and so far was I from desiring an occasion of falling upon these wretches, that in all that time I never once went up the hill to see whether there was any of them in sight, or to know whether any of them had been on shore there or not; that I might not be tempted to renew any of my contrivances against them, or be provoked by any advantage which might present itself, to fall upon them; only this I did, I went and removed my boat, which I had on the other side of the island, and carried it down to the East end of the whole island, where I ran it into a little cove which I found under some high rocks, and where I knew, by reason of the currents, the savages durst not, at least would not, come with their boats, upon any account whatsoever.

With my boat I carried away every thing that I had

left there belonging to her, though not necessary for the bare going thither, *viz.* a mast and a sail, which I had made for her, and a thing like an anchor, but indeed, which could not be called either anchor or grappling; however, it was the best I could make of its kind. All these I removed, that there might not be the least shadow of any discovery, or any appearance of any boat, or of any habitation upon the island.

Besides this, I kept myself, as I said, more retired than ever, and seldom went from my cell, other than upon my constant employment, *viz.* to milk my she-goats, and manage my little flock in the wood; which, as it was quite on the other part of the island, was quite out of danger: For certain it is, that these savage people, who sometimes haunted this island, never came with any thoughts of finding any thing here, and consequently never wandered off from the coast; and I doubt not, but they might have been several times on shore, after my apprehensions of them had made me cautious, as well as before; and I looked back with some horror upon the thoughts of what my condition would have been, if I had chopped upon them, and been discovered before that, when naked and unarmed, except with one gun, and that loaded only with small shot. I walked every where, peeping and peering about the island, to see what I could get: what a surprize should I have been in, if, when I discovered the print of a man's foot, I had instead of that seen fifteen or twenty savages, and found them pursuing me, and, by the swiftness of their running, no possibility of my escaping them!

The thoughts of this sometimes sunk my very soul

within me, and distressed my mind so much, that I could not soon recover it; to think what I should have done, and how I not only should not have been able to resist them, but even should not have had presence of mind enough to do what I might have done; much less, what now after so much consideration and preparation I might not be able to do. Indeed, after serious thinking of these things, I would be very melancholy, and sometimes it would last a great while; but I resolved it at last all into thankfulness to that Providence which had delivered me from so many unseen dangers, and had kept me from those mischiefs, which I could no way have been the agent in delivering myself from, because I had not the least notion of any such thing depending, or the least supposition of its being possible.

This renewed a contemplation, which often had come to my thoughts in former time, when first I began to see the merciful dispositions of Heaven, in the dangers we run through in this life; how wonderfully we are delivered when we know nothing of it: How when we are in a *quandary* (as we call it) a doubt or hesitation, whether we go this way, or that way, a secret hint shall direct us this way, when we intended to go that way; nay, when sense, our own inclination, and perhaps business, has called us to go the other way, yet a strange impression upon the mind, from we know not what springs, and by we know not what power, shall over-rule us to go this way; and it shall afterwards appear, that had we gone that way which we would have gone, and even to our imagination ought to have gone, we should have been ruined and lost: Upon these, and many like reflections, I afterwards made it a certain

rule with me, that whenever I found these secret hints, or pressings of my mind, to doing or not doing any thing that presented, or to going this way or that way, I never failed to obey the secret dictate; though I knew no other reason for it, than that such a pressure, or such an hint, hung upon my mind: I could give many examples of the success of this conduct in the course of my life; but more especially in the latter part of my inhabiting this unhappy island: besides many occasions which it is very likely I might have taken notice of, if I had seen with the same eyes then, that I saw with now: But 'tis never too late to be wise; and I cannot but advise all considering men, whose lives are attended with such extraordinary incidents as mine, or even though not so extraordinary, not to slight such secret intimations of Providence, let them come from what invisible intelligence they will; that I shall not discuss, and perhaps cannot account for; but certainly they are a proof of the converse of spirits, and the secret communication between those embodied, and those unembodied; and such a proof as can never be withstood: Of which I shall have occasion to give some very remarkable instances, in the remainder of my solitary residence in this dismal place.

I believe the reader of this will not think it strange, if I confess that these anxieties, these constant dangers I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had laid for my future accommodations and conveniences. I had the care of my safety now more upon my hands, than that of my food. I cared not to drive a nail, or chop a piece of wood now, for fear the noise

I should make should be heard; much less would I fire a gun, for the same reason; and, above all, I was very uneasy at making any fire, lest the smoke, which is visible at a great distance in the day, should betray me; and for this reason I removed that part of my business, which required fire, such as burning of pots and pipes, &c. into my new apartment in the wood, where after I had been some time, I found, to my unspeakable consolation, a mere natural cave in the earth; which went in a vast way, and where, I dare say, no savage had he been at the mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in, nor indeed would any man else, but one who, like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe retreat.

The mouth of this hollow was at the bottom of a great rock, where, by mere accident (I would say, if I did not see an abundant reason to ascribe all such things now to providence) I was cutting down some thick branches of trees to make charcoal; and before I go on, I must observe the reason of my making this charcoal, which was thus:

I was afraid of making a smoke about my habitation, as I said before; and yet I could not live there without baking bread, cooking my meat, &c. so I contrived to burn some wood here, as I had seen done in *England* under turf, till it became chark, or dry coal; and then putting the fire out, I preserved the coal to carry home, and perform the other services, which fire was wanting for at home, without danger of smoke.

But this by the by: While I was cutting down some wood here, I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low brush-wood, or under-wood, there was a kind

of hollow place: I was curious to look into it, and getting with difficulty into the mouth of it, I found it was pretty large, that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it, and perhaps another with me; but I must confess to you, I made more haste out than I did in; when looking farther into the place, which was perfectly dark, I saw two broad shining eyes of some creature, whether devil or man, I knew not, which twinkled like two stars, the dim light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection.

However, after some pause, I recovered myself, and began to call myself a thousand fools, and tell myself, that he that was afraid to see the devil, was not fit to live twenty years in an island all alone, and that I durst to believe there was nothing in this cave that was more frightful than myself: Upon this, plucking up my courage, I took up a large firebrand, and in I rush'd again with the stick flaming in my hand: I had not gone three steps in, but I was almost as much frightened as I was before; for I heard a loud sigh, like that of a man in some pain; and it was followed by a broken noise, as of words half expressed, and then a deep sigh again: I stepped back, and was indeed struck with such a surprize, that it put me into a cold sweat; and if I had had a hat on my head, I will not answer for it, that my hair might not have lifted it off. But still plucking up my spirits as well as I could, and encouraging myself a little, with considering that the power and presence of God was every where, and was able to protect me; upon this I stepped forward again, and by the light of the firebrand, holding it up a little over my head, I saw lying on the ground a most monstrous and

frightful old he-goat, just making his will, as we say, gasping for life, and dying indeed of mere old age.

I stirred him a little to see if I could get him out, and he essayed to get up, but was not able to raise himself; and I thought with myself, he might even lie there; for if he had frightened me so, he would certainly fright any of the savages, if any of them should be so hardy as to come in there, while he had any life in him.

I was now recovered from my surprize, and began to look round me, when I found the cave was but very small; that is to say, it might be about twelve feet over, but in no manner of shape, either round or square, no hands having ever been employed in the making it, but those of mere nature: I observed also, that there was a place at the farther side of it that went in farther, but, so low, that it required me to creep upon my hands and knees to get into it, and whether it went, I knew not; so having no candle, I gave it over for some time, but resolved to come again the next day, provided with candles and a tinder-box, which I had made of the lock of one of the muskets, with some wildfire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day, I came provided with six large candles of my own making, for I made very good candles now of goats tallow; and, going into this low place, I was obliged to creep upon all fours, as I have said, almost ten yards; which, by the way, I thought was a venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, or what was beyond it: When I was got through the streight, I found the roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty feet; but never

was such a glorious sight seen in the island, I dare say, as it was, to look round the sides and roof of this vault, or cave: The walls reflected an hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles; what it was in the rock, whether diamonds, or any other precious stones, or gold, which I rather supposed it to be, I knew not.

The place I was in was a most delightful cavity, or grotto, of its kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark; the floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose gravel upon it; so that there was no nauseous creature to be seen; neither was there any damp or wet on the sides of the roof: The only difficulty in it was the entrance, which, however, as it was a place of security, and such a retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a convenience; so that I was really rejoiced at the discovery, and resolved, without any delay, to bring some of those things which I was most anxious about, to this place; particularly, I resolved to bring hither my magazine of powder, and all my spare arms, *viz.* two fowling pieces (for I had three in all) and three muskets (for of them I had eight in all;) so I kept at my castle only five, which stood ready mounted, like pieces of cannon, on my outmost fence; and were ready also to take out upon any expedition.

Upon this occasion of removing my ammunition, I was obliged to open the barrel of powder which I took up out of the sea, and which had been wet; and I found that the water had penetrated about three or four inches into the powder on every side, which, caking and growing hard, had preserved the inside like a kernel in a shell; so that I had near sixty pounds of

very good powder in the centre of the cask ; and this was an agreeable discovery to me at that time ; so I carried all away thither, never keeping above two or three pounds of powder with me in my castle, for fear of a surprize of any kind. I also carried thither all the lead I had left for bullets.

I fancied myself now like one of the antient giants, who were said to live in caves and holes of the rocks, where none could come at them ; for I persuaded myself while I was here, if five hundred savages were to hunt me, they could never find me out ; or if they did, they would not venture to attack me here.

The old goat, which I found expiring, died in the mouth of the cave, the next day after I made this discovery ; and I found it much easier to dig a great hole there, and throw him in, and cover him with earth, than to drag him out : So I interred him there, to prevent offence to my nose.

I was now in my twenty third year of residence in this island, and was so naturalized to the place, and to the manner of living, that could I have but enjoyed the certainty, that no savages would come to the place to disturb me, I could have been content to have capitulated for spending the rest of my time there, even to the last moment, till I had laid me down and died, like the old he-goat, in the cave : I had also arrived to some little diversions and amusements, which made the time pass more pleasantly with me a great deal than it did before ; as, first, I had taught my *Poll*, as I noted before, to speak ; and he did it so familiarly, and talked so articulately and plain, that it was very pleasant to me ; and he lived with me no less than six-and-

twenty years: How long he might live afterwards, I know not; though I know they have a notion in *Brazil* that they live an hundred years; perhaps some of my *Polls* may be alive there still, calling after *Poor Robin Crusoe* to this day: I wish no *Englishman* the ill luck to come there and hear them; but if he did, he would certainly believe it was the devil. My dog was a very pleasant and loving companion to me for no less than sixteen years of my time, and then died of mere old age; as for my cats, they multiplied, as I have observed, to that degree, that I was obliged to shoot several of them at first, to keep them from devouring of me, and all I had; but at length, when the two old ones I brought with me were gone, and after some time continually driving them from me, and letting them have no provision with me, they all ran wild into the woods, except two or three favourites, which I kept tame, and whose young, when they had any, I always drowned, and these were part of my family: Besides these, I always kept two or three household kids about me, which I taught to feed out of my hand; and I had also more parrots, which talked pretty well, and could all call *Robin Crusoe*, but none like my first; nor indeed, did I take the pains with any of them that I had done with him: I had also several tame sea-fowls, whose names I know not, which I caught upon the shore, and cut their wings; and the little stakes, which I had planted before my castle-wall being now grown up a good thick grove, these fowls all lived among the low trees, and bred there, which was very agreeable to me, so that, as I said before, I now began to live very well

contented with the life I led, if it might but have been secured from the dread of savages.

But it was otherwise directed; and it may not be amiss for all people who shall meet with my story, to make this just observation from it; *viz.* How frequently, in the course of our lives, the evil which in itself we seek most to shun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very means or door of our deliverance, by which alone we can be raised again from the affliction we are fallen into: I could give many examples of this in the course of my unaccountable life; but in nothing was it more particularly remarkable, than in the circumstances of my last years of solitary residence in this island.

It was now the month of *December*, as I said above, in my twenty third year; and this being the southern solstice, for winter I cannot call it, was the particular time of my harvest, and required my being pretty much abroad in the fields; when going out pretty early in the morning, even before it was thorough daylight, I was surpris'd with seeing a light of some fire upon the shore, at a distance from me of about two miles, towards the end of the island, where I had observ'd some savages had been, as before; but not on the other side; but, to my great affliction, it was on my side of the island.

I was indeed terribly surpris'd at the sight, and stopp'd short within my grove, not daring to go out, lest I might be surpris'd; and yet I had no more peace within, from the apprehensions I had, that if these savages, in rambling over the island, should find my corn stand-

ing, or cut, or any of my works and improvements, they would immediately conclude, that there were people in the place, and would then never give over till they found me out: In this extremity I went back directly to my castle, pull'd up the ladder after me, having made all things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepar'd myself within, putting myself in a posture of defence; I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, *that is to say*, my musquets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last gasp; not forgetting seriously to recommend myself to the divine protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians; and in this posture I continu'd about two hours, but began to be mighty impatient for intelligence abroad, for I had no spies to send out.

After sitting a while longer, and musing what I should do in this case, I was not able to bear sitting in ignorance longer; so setting up my ladder to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, as I observed before, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill; and pulling out my perspective-glass, which I had taken on purpose, I laid me down flat on my belly on the ground and began to look for the place: I presently found there were no less than nine naked savages sitting round a small fire they had made; not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the weather being extreme hot; but as I supposed, to dress some of their barbarous diet of human flesh, which they had brought with them, whether alive or dead, I could not know.

They had two *Canoes* with them, which they had haled

up upon the shore; and as it was then tide of ebb, they seemed to me to wait the return of the flood to go away again. It is not easy to imagine what confusion this sight put me into, especially seeing them come on my side the island, and so near me too; but when I observed their coming must be always with the current of the ebb, I began afterwards to be more sedate in my mind, being satisfied that I might go abroad with safety, all the time of tide of flood, if they were not on shore before; and having made this observation, I went abroad about my harvest-work with the more composure.

As I expected, so it proved; for as soon as the tide made to the westward, I saw them all take boat, and row (or paddle, as we call it) all away: I should have observed, that for an hour and more before they went off, they went to dancing, and I could easily discern their postures and gestures by my glasses: I could not perceive, by my nicest observation but that they were stark-naked, and had not the least covering upon them; but whether they were men or women, that I could not distinguish.

As soon as I saw them shipped and gone, I took two guns upon my shoulders, and two pistols at my girdle, and my great sword by my side, without a scabbard; and with all the speed I was able to make, I went away to the hill, where I had discover'd the first appearance of all. As soon as I got thither, which was not less than two hours (for I could not go apace, being so loaden with arms as I was) I perceived there had been three *Canoes* more of savages on that place; and look-

ing out further, I saw they were all at sea together, making over for the main.

This was a dreadful sight to me, especially when going down to the shore, I could see the marks of horror which the dismal work they had been about had left behind it, *viz.* the blood, the bones, and part of the flesh of human bodies, eaten and devoured by those wretches, with merriment and sport. I was so filled with indignation at the sight, that I began now to premeditate the destruction of the next that I saw there, let them be who or how many soever.

It seemed evident to me, that the visits which they thus made to this island, were not very frequent; for it was above fifteen months before any more of them came on shore there again; *that is to say*, I never saw them, or any footsteps or signals of them, in all that time; for as to the rainy seasons, then they are sure not to come abroad, at least not so far; yet all this while I lived uncomfortably, by reason of the constant apprehensions I was in of their coming upon me by surprise; from whence I observe, that the expectation of evil is more bitter than the suffering, especially if there is no room to shake off that expectation or those apprehensions.

During all this time, I was in the murdering humour; and took up most of my hours, which should have been better employed, in contriving how to circumvent and fall upon them the very next time I should see them; especially if they should be divided, as they were the last time, into two parties; nor did I consider at all, that if I killed one party, suppose ten or a dozen, I was still the next day, or week, or month, to kill another, and

if another, even *ad infinitum*, till I should be at length no less a murderer than they were in being men-eaters; and perhaps much more so.

I spent my days now in great perplexity and anxiety of mind, expecting that I should one day or other fall into the hands of these merciless creatures; if I did at any time venture abroad, it was not without looking round me with the greatest care and caution imaginable; and now I found, to my great comfort, how happy it was that I had provided a tame flock or herd of goats; for I durst not, upon any account, fire my gun, especially near that side of the island, where they usually came, lest I should alarm the savages; and if they had fled from me now, I was sure to have them come back again, with perhaps two or three hundred *Canoes* with them in a few days, and then I knew what to expect.

However, I wore out a year and three months more, before I ever saw any more of the savages, and then I found them again, as I shall soon observe: It is true, they might have been there once or twice; but either they made no stay, or, at least, I did not hear them; but in the month of *May*, as near as I could calculate, and in my four-and-twentieth year, I had a very strange encounter with them, of which in its place.

The perturbation of my mind, during this fifteen or sixteen months interval, was very great; I slept unquiet, dreamed always frightful dreams, and often started out of my sleep in the night; in the day great troubles overwhelmed my mind; in the night I dreamed often of killing the savages, and the reasons why I might justify the doing of it: But to wave all this for a while,

it was in the middle of *May*, of the sixteenth day, I think, as well as my poor wooden calendar would reckon ; for I marked all upon the post still ; I say, it was on the sixteenth of *May*, that it blew a very great storm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night was after it : I know not what was the particular occasion of it ; but as I was reading in the bible, and taken up with serious thoughts about my present condition, I was surpris'd with the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea.

This was, to be sure, a surprise of a quite different nature from any I had met with before ; for the notions this put into my thoughts were quite of another kind : I started up in the greatest haste imaginable ; and in a trice stepped up my ladder to the middle place of the rock, and pulled it after me, and, mounting it the second time, got to the top of the hill ; that very moment a flash of fire bad me listen for a second gun, which accordingly in about half a moment I heard, and by the sound knew that it was from that part of the sea where I was driven out with the current in my boat.

I immediately considered, that this must be some ship in distress, and that they had some comrade, or some other ship in company, and fired these guns for signals of distress, and to obtain help : I had this presence of mind at that minute, as to think, that though I could not help them, it may be they might help me ; so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good handsome pile, I set it on fire upon the hill ; the wood was dry, and blazed freely, and tho' the wind blew very hard, yet it burnt.

fairly out, so that I was certain, if there was any such thing as a ship, they must needs see it, and no doubt they did; for as soon as ever my fire blazed up, I heard another gun, and after that several others, all from the same quarter. I plied my fire all night long, till day broke; and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, full east of the island, whether a sail, or an hull, I could not distinguish, no not with my glasses, the distance was so great and the weather still something hazy also; at least it was so out at sea,

I looked frequently at it all that day, and soon perceived that it did not move: so I presently concluded, that it was a ship at anchor; and being eager, you may be sure to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran towards the *South-east* side of the island, to the rocks, where I had been formerly carried away with the current; and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great sorrow, the wreck of a ship cast away in the night upon those concealed rocks which I found when I was out in my boat; and which rocks, as they checked the violence of the stream, and made a kind of counter-stream, or eddy, were the occasion of my recovering then from the most desperate hopeless condition that ever I had been in all my life.

Thus, what is one man's safety, is another man's destruction; for it seems, these men, whoever they were, being out of their knowledge, and the rocks being wholly under water, had been driven upon them in the night, the wind blowing hard at *E. and E. N. E.* Had they seen the island, as I must necessarily suppose

they did not, they must, as I thought, have endeavour'd to have saved themselves on shore by the help of their boat; but their firing of their guns for help, especially when they saw, as I imagined, my fire, filled me with many thoughts: first I imagined, that, upon seeing my light, they might have put themselves into their boat, and have endeavour'd to make the shore; but that the sea going very high, they might have been cast away; other times I imagined, that they might have lost their boat before, as might be the case many ways; as particularly, by the breaking of the sea upon their ship, which many times obliges men to stave, or take in pieces their boat; and sometimes to throw it overboard with their own hands: other times I imagined, they had some other ship or ships in company, who, upon the signals of distress they had made, had taken them up, and carried them off: other whiles I fancied, they were all gone off to sea in their boat, and being hurried away by the current that I had been formerly in, were carried out into the great ocean, where there was nothing but misery and perishing; and that perhaps they might by this time think of starving, and of being in a condition to eat one another.

As all these were but conjectures at best, so, in the condition I was in, I could do no more than look upon the misery of the poor men, and pity them; which had still this good effect on my side, that it gave me more and more cause to give thanks to God, who had so happily and comfortably provided for me in my desolate condition; and that of two ships companies, who were now cast away upon this part of the world,

not one life should be spared but mine. I learnt here again to observe, that it is very rare, that the providence of God casts us into any condition of life so low, or any misery so great, but we may see something or other to be thankful for, and may see others in worse circumstances than our own.

Such certainly was the case of those men, of whom I could not so much as see room to suppose any of them were saved; nothing could make it rational, so much as to wish or expect that they did not all perish there, except the possibility only of their being taken up by another ship in company: And this was but mere possibility indeed; for I saw not the least signal or appearance of any such thing.

I cannot explain, by any possible energy of words and a strange longing, or hankering of desire, I felt in my soul upon this sight; breaking out sometimes thus: O that there had been but one or two, nay, or but one soul saved out of the ship, to have escaped to me, that I might but have had one companion, one fellow-creature, to have spoken to me, and to have conversed with! in all the time of my solitary life, I never felt so earnest, so strong a desire after the society of my fellow-creatures, or so deep a regret at the want of it.

There are some secret moving springs in the affections, which, when they are set a going by some object in view, or be it some object though not in view, yet rendered present to the mind by the power of imagination, that motion carries out the soul by its impetuosity to such violent, eager embracing of the object, that the absence of it is insupportable.

Such were these earnest wishings, that but one man had been saved! *O that it had been but one!* I believe I repeated the words, *O that it had been but one!* a thousand times, and my desires were so moved by it, that when I spoke the words, my hands would clinch together, and my fingers press the palms of my hands, that if I had had any soft thing in my hand, it would have crushed it involuntarily; and my teeth in my head would strike together, and set against one another so strong, that for some time I could not part them again.

Let the naturalists explain these things, and the reason and manner of them: All I can say of them, is, to describe the fact, which was very surprising to me when I found it; tho' I knew not from what it should proceed; it was doubtless the effect of ardent wishes, and of strong ideas formed in my mind, realizing the comfort which the conversation of one of my fellow-christians would have been to me.

But it was not to be; either their fate, or mine, or both, forbid it; for till the last year of my being on this island, I never knew, whether any were saved out of that ship or no; and had only the affliction some days after, to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore, at the end of the island, which was next the ship-wreck: he had on no cloaths, but a seaman's waistcoat, a pair of open-keed linen drawers, and a blue linen shirt; but nothing to direct me so much as to guess what nation he was of: he had nothing in his pocket but two pieces of eight, and a tobacco-pipe; the last was to me of ten times more value than the first.

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubting but I might find something on board, that might be useful to me; but that did not altogether press me so much, as the possibility that there might yet be some living creature on board, whose life I might not only save, but might by saving that life, comfort my own to the last degree: And this thought clung so to my heart, that I could not be quiet, night nor day, but I must venture out in my boat on board this wreck; and committing the rest to God's Providence, I thought the impression was so strong upon my mind, that it could not be resisted, though it must come from some invisible direction, and that I should be wanting to myself, if I did not go.

Under the power of this impression, I hastned back to my castle, prepared every thing for my voyage, took a quantity of bread, a great pot of fresh water, a compass to steer by, a bottle of rum (for I had still a great deal of that left) a basket full of raisins: And thus loading myself with every thing necessary, I went down to my boat, got the water out of her, and got her afloat, loaded all my cargo in her, and then went home again for more: My second cargo was a great bag full of rice, the umbrella to set up over my head for a shade, another large pot full of fresh water, and about two dozen of my small loaves, or barley-cakes, more than before, with a bottle of goat's milk, and a cheese; all which, with great labour and sweat, I brought to my boat; and praying to God to direct my voyage, I put out, and rowing or paddling the Canoe along the shore, I came at last to the utmost point of

the island, on that side, viz. N. E. And now I was to launch out into the ocean; and either to venture, or not to venture; I looked on the rapid currents which ran constantly on both sides of the island, at a distance, and which were terrible to me, from the remembrance of the hazard I had been in before, and my heart began to fail me; for I foresaw, that if I was driven into either of those currents, I should be carried a vast way out to sea, and perhaps out of my reach, or sight of the island again; and that then, as my boat was but small, if any little gale of wind should rise, I should inevitably be lost.

These thoughts so oppressed my mind, that I began to give over my enterprize, and having haled my boat into a little creek on the shore, I stepped out, and sat me down upon a little rising spot of ground, very pensive and anxious, between fear and desire about my voyage; when as I was musing, I could perceive that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, upon which my going was for so many hours impracticable: Upon this it presently occurred to me, that I should go up to the highest piece of ground I could find, and observe, if I could, how the sets of the tide or currents lay, when the flood came in, that I might judge whether, if I was driven one way out, I might not expect to be driven another way home with the same rapidness of the currents: This thought was no sooner in my head, but I cast my eye upon a little hill which sufficiently overlooked the sea both ways, and from whence I had a clear view of the currents, or sets of the tide, and which way I was to guide myself in my return: Here I found, that as the current of the ebb

set out close to the south point of the island, so the current of the flood set in close by the shore of the North-side; and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the North of the island in my return, and I should do well enough.

Encouraged by this observation, I resolved the next morning to set out with the first of the tide; and reposing myself for that night in the Canoe, under the great watch-coat I mentioned, I launched out; I made first a little out to sea full north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current, which set eastward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not so hurry me as the southern side current had done before, and so as to take from me all government of the boat; but having a strong steerage with my paddle, I went, *I say*, at a great rate, directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours I came up to it.

It was a dismal sight to look at: The ship, which by its building was *Spanish*, stuck fast, jammed in between two rocks; all the stern and quarter of her was beaten to pieces with the sea; and as her fore-castle, which stuck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her main-mast and fore-mast were brought by the board, that is to say, broken short off, but her bowsprit was sound, and the head and bow appeared firm: When I came close to her, a dog appeared upon her, which seeing me coming, yelped and cried, and as soon as I called him, jumped into the sea to come to me; and I took him into the boat, but found him almost dead for hunger and thirst: I gave him a cake of my bread, and he eat it like a ravenous wolf, that had been starving a fortnight in the snow: I then gave the

poor creature some fresh water, with which, if I would have let him, he would have burst himself.

After this I went on board; the first sight I met with, was two men drowned in the cook-room, or fore-castle of the ship, with their arms fast about one another. I concluded, as is indeed probable, that when the ship struck, it being in a storm, the sea broke so high, and so continually over her, that the men were not able to bear it, and were strangled with the constant rushing in of the water, as much as if they had been under water: Besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship, that had life, nor any goods that I could see, but what were spoiled by the water; There were some casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy I know not, which lay lower in the hold, and which, the water being ebb'd out, I could see; but they were too big to be meddled with: I saw several chests, which I believed belonged to some of the seamen, and I got two of them into the boat, without examining what was in them.

Had the stern of the ship been fixed, and the fore-part broken off, I am persuaded I might have made a good voyage; for by what I found in these two chests I had room to suppose the ship had a great deal of wealth on board; and if I may guess by the course she steered, she must have been bound from the *Buenos Ayres*, or the *Rio de la Plata*, in the south part of *America*, beyond the *Brasils*, to the *Havannah* in the gulph of *Mexico*, and so perhaps to *Spain*: She had no doubt a great treasure in her, but of no use at that time to any body; and what became of the rest of her people, I then knew not.

I found, besides these chests, a little cask full of liquor, of about twenty gallons, which I got into my boat, with much difficulty: There were several musquets in a cabin, and a great powder-horn, with about four pounds of powder in it; as for the musquets, I had no occasion for them, so I left them, but took the powder-horn: I took a fire-shovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely; as also two little brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron; and with this cargo, and the dog, I came away, the tide beginning to make home again; and the same evening, about an hour within night, I reached the island again weary and fatigued to the last degree.

I repos'd that night in the boat, and in the morning I resolved to harbour what I had gotten in my new cave, not to carry it home to my castle: After refreshing myself, I got all my cargo on shore, and began to examine the particulars: The cask of liquor I found to be a kind of rum, but not such as we had at the *Brasils*; and in a word, not at all good; but when I came to open the chests, I found several things which I wanted: For example, I found in one chest a fine case of bottles, of an extraordinary kind, and filled with cordial waters, fine, and very good; the bottles held about three pints each, and were tipped with silver; I found two pots of very good succades, or sweet meats, so fastened also on the top, that the salt water had not hurt them; and two more of the same which the water had spoiled: I found some very good shirts, which were very welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs, and coloured neckcloths; the former were also very welcome, be-

ing exceeding refreshing to wipe my face in a hot day; besides this, when I came to the till in the chest, I found there three great bags of pieces of eight, which held about eleven hundred pieces in all; and in one of them, wrapt up in a paper, six doubloons of gold, and some small bars or wedges of gold; I suppose they might all weigh near a pound.

The other chest I found had some cloaths in it, but of little value; but by the circumstances it must have belonged to the gunner's mate, though there was no powder in it, but about two pounds of glazed powder, in three flasks, kept, I suppose, for charging their fowling-pieces on occasion: Upon the whole, I got very little by this voyage, that was of much use to me; for, as to the money, I had no manner of occasion for it, it was to me as the dirt under my feet: and I would have given it all for three or four pair of *English* shoes and stockings, which were things I greatly wanted, but had not had on my feet now for many years; I had indeed gotten two pair of shoes now, which I took off of the feet of the two drowned men, whom I saw in the wreck; and I found two pair more in the chests, which were very welcome to me; but they were not like our *English* shoes, either for ease or service, being rather what we call pumps than shoes: I found in this seaman's chest about fifty pieces of eight in royals, but no gold; I suppose this belonged to a poorer man than the other, which seemed to belong to some officer.

Well, however, I lugged this money home to my cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before, which I brought from our own ship; but it was great pity, as I

said, that the other part of the ship had not come to my share, for I am satisfied I might have loaded my Canoe several times over with money, which if I had ever escaped to *England*, would have lain here safe enough till I might have come again and fetched it.

Having now brought all my things on shore, and secured them, I went back to my boat, and rowed or paddled her along the shore to her old harbour, where I laid her up, and made the best of my way to my old habitation, where I found every thing safe and quiet; so I began to repose myself, live after my old fashion, and take care of my family-affairs; and for a while I lived easy enough; only that I was more vigilant than I used to be, looked out oftener, and did not go abroad so much; and if at any time I did stir with any freedom, it was always to the east part of the island, where I was pretty well satisfied the savages never came, and where I could go without so many precautions, and such a load of arms and ammunition, as I always carried with me, if I went the other way.

I lived in this condition near two years more; but my unlucky head, that was always to let me know it was born to make my body miserable, was all those two years fill'd with projects and designs, how, if it were possible, I might get away from this island; for sometimes I was for making another voyage to the wreck, though my reason told me, that there was nothing left there worth the hazard of my voyage; sometimes for a ramble one way, sometimes another; and I believe verily, if I had had the boat that I went from *Sallee* in, I should have ventured to sea, bound any-where, I knew not whither.

I have been, in all my circumstances, a *memento* to those who are touched with that general plague of mankind, whence, for aught I know, one half of their miseries flow ; I mean that of not being satisfied with the station wherein God and nature hath plac'd them; for, not to look back upon my primitive condition, and the excellent advice of my father, the opposition to which was, *as I may call it*, my *original sin*, my subsequent mistakes of the same kind have been the means of my coming into this miserable condition ; for had that Providence, which so happily had seated me at the *Brasils*, as a planter, blessed me with confined desires, and could I have been contented to have gone on gradually I might have been by this time, *I mean the time of my being in this island*, one of the most considerable planters in the *Brasils* ; nay, I am persuaded, that by the improvements I had made in that little time I lived there, and the increase I should probably have made, if I had stayed, I might have been worth an hundred thousand *moidores* ; and what business had I to leave a settled fortune, well-stocked plantation, improving and increasing, to turn *supercargo* to *Guinea*, to fetch *Negroes*, when patience and time would have so increased our stock at home, that we could have bought them at our own doors, from those whose business it was to fetch them ? And though it had cost us something more, yet the difference of that price was by no means worth saving at so great a hazard.

But as this is ordinarily the fate of young heads, so reflection upon the folly of it is more ordinarily the exercise of more years, or of the dear-bought experience of time ; and so it was with me now ; and yet so

deep had the mistake taken root in my temper, that I could not satisfy myself in my station, but was continually poring upon the means and possibility of my escape from this place; and that I may, with the greater pleasure to the reader, bring on the remaining part of my story, it may not be improper to give some account of my first conceptions on the subject of this foolish scheme for my escape; and how, and upon what foundation I acted.

I am now to be supposed to be retired into my castle after my late voyage to the wreck, my frigate laid up, and secured under water as usual, and my condition restored to what it was before: I had more riches, indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more use of it, than the *Indians* of *Peru* had before the *Spaniards* came thither.

It was one of the nights, in the rainy season in *March*, the four and twentieth year of my first setting foot in this island of solitariness, I was lying in my bed, or hammock, awake, very well in health, had no pain, no distemper, no uneasiness of body, no nor any uneasiness of mind more than ordinary, but could by no means close my eyes; that is, so as to sleep; no, not a wink all night long, otherwise than as follows:

It is as impossible as needless, to set down the innumerable crowd of thoughts that whirled through that great thoroughfare of the brain, the memory, in this night's time; I ran over the whole history of my life in miniature, or by abridgement, as I may call it, to my coming to this island; and also of that part of my life since I came to this island; in my reflections upon the

state of my case, since I came on shore on this island; I was comparing the happy posture of my affairs, in the first years of my habitation here, to that course of anxiety, fear and care, which I had lived in ever since I had seen the print of a foot in the sand; not that I did not believe the savages had frequented the island even all the while, and might have been several hundreds of them at times on shore there; but as I had never known it, and was incapable of any apprehensions about it, my satisfaction was perfect, though my danger was the same; and I was as happy in not knowing my danger, as if I had never really been exposed to it; this furnished my thoughts with many very profitable reflections, and particularly this one, How infinitely good that Providence is, which has settled in its government of mankind such narrow bounds to his sight and knowledge of things; and though he walks in the midst of many thousand dangers, the sight of which, if discovered to him, would distract his mind, and sink his spirits, he is kept serene and calm, by having the events of things hid from his eyes, and knowing nothing of the dangers which surround him.

After these thoughts had for some time entertained me, I came to reflect seriously upon the real danger I had been in for many years in this very island; and how I had walked about in the greatest security, and with all possible tranquillity, even when perhaps nothing but a brow of an hill, a great tree, or the casual approach of night, had been between me and the worst kind of destruction, *viz.* that of falling into the hands of canibals and savages, who would have seized on me with the same view, as I did on a goat or a turtle, and

have thought it no more a crime to kill and devour me, than I did of a pigeon or a curlew; I should unjustly slander myself, if I should say I was not sincerely thankful to my great preserver, to whose singular protection I acknowledged, with great humility, that all these unknown deliverances were due, without which I should inevitably have fallen into their merciless hands.

When these thoughts were over, my head was for some time taken up in considering the nature of these wretched creatures, I mean the savages; and how it came to pass in the world, that the wise governour of all things should give up any of his creatures to such inhumanity, nay, to something so much below even brutality itself, as to devour its own kind: But as this ended in some (at that time fruitless) speculations, it occurred to me to inquire what part of the world these wretches lived in; how far off the coast was from whence they came; what they ventured so far from home for; what kind of boats they had; and why I might not order myself and my business so, that I might be as able to go over thither, as they were to come to me.

I never so much as troubled myself to consider what I should do with myself when I came thither; what should become of me, if I fell into the hands of savages; or how should I escape from them, if they attempted me; no, nor so much as how it was possible for me to reach the coast, and not be attempted by some or other of them, without any possibility of delivering myself; and if I should not fall into their hands, what I should do for provision, or whither I

should bend my course ; none of these thoughts, I say, so much as came in my way ; but my mind was wholly bent upon the notion of my passing over in my boat to the main land : I looked back upon my present condition, as the most miserable that could possibly be ; that I was not able to throw myself into any thing but death that could be called worse ; that if I reached the shore of the main, I might, perhaps, meet with relief ; or I might coast along, as I did on the shore of *Africa*, till I came to some inhabited country, and where I might find some relief ; and after all perhaps I might fall in with some Christian ship that might take me in, and if the worst came to the worst, I could but die, which would put an end to all these miseries at once. Pray *note*, All this was the fruit of a disturbed mind, an impatient temper, made, as it were, desperate by the long continuance of my troubles, and the disappointments I had met in the wreck I had been on board of, and where I had been so near the obtaining what I so earnestly longed for, *viz.* somebody to speak to, and to learn some knowledge from, of the place where I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance : I say, I was agitated wholly by these thoughts. All my calm of mind in my resignation to providence, and waiting the issue of the dispositions of heaven, seemed to be suspended ; and I had, as it were, no power to turn my thoughts to any thing, but the project of a voyage to the main, which came upon me with some force, and such an impetuosity of desire, that it was not to be resisted.

When this had agitated my thoughts for two hours or more, with such violence, that it set my very blood

into a ferment, and my pulse beat as high as if I had been in a fever, merely with the extraordinary fervour of my mind about it; nature, as if I had been fatigued and exhausted with the very thought of it, threw me into a sound sleep; One would have thought I should have dreamed of it; but I did not, nor of any thing relating to it; but I dreamed, that as I was going out in the morning, as usual from my castle, I saw upon the shore two Canoes, and eleven savages coming to land, and that they brought with them another savage, whom they were going to kill, in order to eat him; when on a sudden, the savage that they were going to kill jumped away, and ran for his life; then I thought in my sleep, that he came running into my little thick grove, before my fortification, to hide himself; and that I seeing him alone, and not perceiving that the others sought him that way, shewed myself to him, and smiling upon him, encouraged him: That he kneeled down to me, seeming to pray me to assist him; upon which I shewed my ladder, made him go up it, and carried him into my cave, and he became my servant; and that as soon as I had gotten this man, I said to myself, Now I may certainly venture to the main land; for this fellow will serve me as a pilot, and will tell me what to do, and whither to go for provisions, and whither not to go for fear of being devoured, what places to venture into, and what to escape. I waked with this thought, and was under inexpressible impressions of joy at the prospect of my escape in my dream that the disappointments which I felt upon coming to myself, and finding it was no more than a

dream, were equally extravagant the other way, and threw me into a very great dejection of spirit.

Upon this, however, I made this conclusion, That my only way to go about an attempt for an escape, was, if possible, to get a savage in my possession: and, if possible, it should be one of their prisoners whom they had condemned to be eaten, and should bring hither to kill; but these thoughts still were attended with this difficulty, that it was impossible to effect this, without attacking a whole caravan of them, and killing them all; and this was not only a very desperate attempt, and might miscarry; but on the other hand, I had greatly scrupled the lawfulness of it to me, and my heart trembled at the thoughts of shedding so much blood, though it was for my deliverance: I need not repeat the arguments which occurred to me against this, they being the same mentioned before: But tho' I had other reasons to offer now, *viz.* that those men were enemies to my life, and would devour me, if they could; that it was self-preservation in the highest degree, to deliver myself from this death of a life, and was acting in my own defence as much as if they were actually assaulting me, and the like; I say, tho' these things argued for it, yet the thoughts of shedding human blood for my deliverance, were very terrible to me, and such as I could by no means reconcile myself to a great while.

However, at last, after many secret disputes with myself, and after great perplexities about it (for all these arguments, one way and another, struggled in my head a long time) the eager prevailing desire of deliverance at length mastered all the rest, and I resolved, if pos-

able to get one of these savages into my hands, cost what it would: My next thing then was to contrive how to do it; and this indeed was very difficult to resolve on: But as I could pitch upon no probable means for it, so I resolved to put myself upon the watch, to see them when they came on shore, and leave the rest to the event, taking such measures as the opportunity should present, let it be what it would.

With these resolutions in my thoughts, I set myself upon the scout, as often as possible, and indeed so often till I was heartily tired of it; for it was above a year and an half that I waited, and for a great part of that time went out to the west end, and to the south-west corner of the island, almost every day to see the Canoes, but none appeared: This was very discouraging, and began to trouble me much; though I cannot say that it did in this case as it had done some time before that, *viz.* wear off the edge of my desire to the thing; but the longer it seemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it: In a word, I was not at first more careful to shun the sight of those savages, and avoid being seen by them, than I was now eager to be upon them.

Besides, I fancied myself able to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do whatever I should direct them, and to prevent their being able, at any time, to do me any hurt: It was a great while that I pleased myself with this affair, but nothing still presented; all my schemes and fancies came to nothing, for no savages came near me for a great while.

About a year and an half after I had entertained

these notions, and, by long musing, had, as it were resolved them all into nothing, for want of an occasion to put them in execution, I was surpris'd one morning early, with seeing no less than five Canoes all on shore together, on my side of the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight: The number of them broke all my measures; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four, or six, or sometimes more in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures to attack twenty or thirty men single-handed; so I lay still in my castle, perplexed, and discomforted; however, I put myself into the same posture for an attack, that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if any thing had presented: Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise, at length being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by my two stages, as usual; standing so however, that my head did not appear above the hill; so that they could not perceive me by any means: Here I observed, by the help of my perspective-glass, that they were no less than thirty in number, that they had a fire kindled, and that they had had meat dressed; how they cooked it, that I know not, or what it was; but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

When I was thus looking on them, I perceived by my perspective two miserable wretches dragg'd from the boats, where, it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter: I perceived one

of them immediately fell, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way; and two or three others were at work immediately, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him: In that very moment this poor wretch seeing himself a little at liberty, nature inspired him with hopes of life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards me, I mean towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frightened (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him to run my way; and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body; and now I expected that part of my dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take shelter in the grove; but I could not depend by any means upon my dream for the rest of it, *viz* that the other savages would not pursue him thither, and find him there: However, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that there were not above three men that followed him; and still more was I encouraged, when I found that he outstript them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them, so that if he could but hold it out for half an hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle the creek which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship; and this I knew, he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there: But when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it tho' the

tide was then up; but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness; when the three pursuers came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that he standing on the other side, looked at the other, but went no farther, and soon after went softly back again, which, as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I observed that the two that swam, were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek, than the fellow was that fled from them: It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get me a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by providence to save this poor creature's life; I immediately got down the ladders with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladder, as I observed above; and getting up again with the same haste to the top of the hill, I crossed towards the sea; and, having a very short cut, and all down hill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hollowing aloud to him that fled, who, looking back, was at first perhaps as much frightened at me as them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back, and in the mean time, I slowly advanced towards the two that followed; then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece; I was loath to fire, because I would not have the rest hear; though at the distance it would not have been easily heard; and being out of the sight of the smoke too, they would not

have easily known what to make of it. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting to shoot at me; so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first, which I did, and killed him at the first shot. The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen and killed (as he thought) yet was so frightened with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock still, and neither came forward nor went backward, tho' he seemed rather inclined to fly still, than to come on. I hollowed again to him, and made signs to him to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little way, then stopped again, and then a little farther, and stopped again, and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and had just been to be killed as his two enemies were. I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgment for saving his life. I smiled at him, and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer. At length he came close to me, and then he kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head: This, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage, whom I knocked down, was not killed, but

stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself: So I pointed to him, and shewed him the savage, that he was not dead, upon this he spoke some words to me, and tho' I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard (my own excepted) for above five and twenty years: but there was no time for such reflections now; the savage who was knocked down, recovered himself so far as to sit upon the ground; and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; but when he saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him; upon this my savage, *for so I call him now*, made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side; so I did: He no sooner had it, but he runs to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in *Germany* could have done it sooner or better; which I thought very strange, for one, who, I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords; however, it seems, as I learned afterwards, they make their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, ay, and arms, and that at one blow too. When he had done this, he comes laughing to me in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again, and with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down with the head of the savage that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most was, to know how I had killed the other *Indian* so far off; so pointing to him, he made signs to me to let him go to him:

So I bade him go, as well as I could ; when he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him ; turned him first on one side, then on t'other ; looked at the wound the bullet had made, which it seems was just in his breast, where it had made a hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed, but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead. Then he took up his bow and arrows, and came back ; so I turned to go away, and beckoned to him to follow me, making signs to him, that more might come after them.

Upon this he signed to me, that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest, if they followed ; and so I made signs again to him to do so ; he fell to work, and in an instant he had scraped an hole in the sand with his hands, big enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him, and did so also by the other. I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour ; then calling him away, I carried him not to my castle, but quite away to my cave, on the further part of the island ; so I did not let my dream come to pass in that part, *viz.* that he came into my grove for shelter.

Here I gave him bread and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was indeed in great distress for, by his running ; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go lie down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes ; so the poor creature lay down, and went to sleep.

He was a comely handsome fellow, perfectly well made, with strait long limbs, not too large, tall and well

shaped, and, as I reckon, about 26 years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face, and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an *European* in his countenance too, especially when he smiled : His hair was long and black, not curled like wool; his forehead very high, and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly yellow nauseous tawny, as the *Brasilians*, *Virginians*, and other natives of *America* are, but of a bright kind of a dun olive colour, that had in it something very agreeable, tho' not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump, his nose small, not flat like the *Negroes*, a very good mouth, thin lips, and his teeth fine, well-set, and white as ivory : After he had slumbered, rather than slept, about an hour, he waked again, and comes out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats which I had in the inclosure just by : When he espied me, he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of an humble thankful disposition, making many antic gestures to shew it. At last he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before; and after this, made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude and submission imaginable, to let me know how much he would serve me as long as he lived I understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him; in a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and first, I made him know his name should be

Friday, which was the day I saved his life; and I called him so for the memory of the time; I likewise taught him to say *Master*, and then let him know that was to be my name; I likewise taught him to say *Yes* and *No*, and to know the meaning of them; I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sop my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good for him.

I kept there with him all that night, but as soon as it was day, I beckoned him to come with me, and let him know I would give him some cloaths, at which he seemed very glad for he was stark naked: As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the spot, and shewed me the marks that he had made to find them again, making signs to me that we should dig them up again, and eat them; at this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately with great submission: I then led him up to the top of the hill to see if his enemies were gone, and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them, or of their Canoes; so that it was plain that they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them.

But I was not content with this discovery, but having now more courage, and consequently more curiosity, I took my man *Friday* with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his

back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself, and away we marched to the place where these creatures had been; for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them: When I came to the place my very blood ran chill in my veins, and my heart sunk within me at the horror of the spectacle: Indeed it was a dreadful sight, at least it was so to me, though *Friday* made nothing of it: The place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with the blood, great pieces of flesh left here-and-there, half-eaten, mangled, and scorched; and, in short, all the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies: I saw three skulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies; and *Friday*, by his signs, made me understand, that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of, and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all which were carried to several places by those who had taken them in the flight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches upon those they brought hither.

I caused *Friday* to gather all the skulls, flesh, bones and whatever remained and lay them together on an heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to ashes: I found *Friday* had still an hankering stomach after some of the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature; but I discovered so much abhorrence at the

very thoughts of it, and at the least appearance of it, that he durst not discover it; for I had, by some means, let him know, that I would kill him if he offered it.

When we had done this, we came back to our castle, and there I fell to work for my man *Friday*; and first of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had out of the poor gunner's chest I mentioned, and which I found in the wreck; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well; then I made him a jerkin of goat's-skin, as well as my skill would allow, and I was now grown a tolerable good taylor; and I gave him a cap, which I had made of a hare-skin, very convenient, and fashionable enough: and he was dressed, for the present, tolerably well, and mighty well was he pleased to see himself almost as well cloathed as his master: It is true, he went awkwardly in these things at first; wearing the drawers was very awkward to him, and the sleeves of the waistcoat galled his shoulders, and the inside of his arms; but a little easing them, where he complained they hurt him, and using himself to them, at length he took to them very well.

The next day after I came home to my hutch with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I made a little tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first: and as there was a door or enterance there into my cave, I made a formal framed door-case, and a door to it of boards, and set it up in the passage, a little within the entrance; and causing the door to open on the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders too; so that

Friday could no way come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over, that it must needs awaken me; for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to a side of the hill, which was again laid cross, with small sticks instead of laths, and then thatch'd over a great thickness with the rice-straw, which was strong like reeds; and at the hole or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which if it had been attempted on the outside, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise; and as to weapons, I took them all in to my side every night.

But I needed none of all this precaution; for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than *Friday* was to me; without passions, fullness, or designs; perfectly obliged and engaged; his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father; and I dare say, he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever: the many testimonies he gave me of this, put it out of doubt; and soon convinced me, that I needed to use no precautions as to my safety on his account.

This frequently gave me occasion to observe and that with wonder, that, however it had pleased God in his providence, and in the government of the works of his hands, to take from so great part of the world of his creatures, the best uses to which their faculties, and the powers of their souls, are adapted; yet that he has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kind-

ness and obligation, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good, and receiving good, that he has given to us; and that when he pleases to offer them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready to apply them to the right uses for which they were bestow'd, than we are. And this made me very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several occasions presented, how mean an use we make of all these, even though we have these powers enlighten'd by the great lamp of instruction, the spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his word, added to our understanding; and why it has pleased God to hide the like saving knowledge from so many millions of souls, who, if I might judge by this poor savage, would make a much better use of it than we did.

From hence I sometimes was led too far to invade the sovereignty of providence; and, as it were, arraign the justice of so arbitrary a disposition of things, that should hide that light from some, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from both: But I shut it up, and check'd my thoughts with this conclusion: *First*, That we do not know by what light and law these should be condemn'd; but that, as God was necessarily, and by the nature of his being, infinitely holy and just, so it could not be, but that if these creatures were all sentenced to absence from himself, it was on account of sinning against that light, which, as the scripture says, was a law to themselves, and by such rules as their consciences would acknowledge to be just, though the foundation was not discover'd to us: And, *secondly*, That still, as we are all the clay in the hand of the potter,

no vessel could say to him, Why hast thou form'd me thus?

But to return to my new companion: I was greatly delighted with him, and made it my business to teach him every thing that was proper to make him useful, handy, and helpful; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spake; and he was the aptest scholar that ever was; and particularly was so merry, so constantly diligent, and so pleas'd when he could but understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant to me to talk to him; and now my life began to be so easy, that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more savages I car'd not if I was never to remove from the place while I liv'd.

After I had been two or three days return'd to my castle, I thought, that, in order to bring *Friday* off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a Cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh; so I took him out with me one morning to the woods: I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring it home and dress it: But as I was going, I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her: I caught hold of *Friday*, hold, said I, stand still; and made signs to him not to stir; immediately I presented my piece, shot and kill'd one of the kids. The poor creature, who had at a distance indeed, seen me kill the savage, his enemy, but did not know, or could imagine, how it was done, was sensibly surpris'd, trembled and shook, and look'd so amaz'd, that I thought he would have sunk down: He did not see the kid I had shot at, or perceive I had kill'd it,

but ripp'd up his waistcoat to feel if he was not wounded; and, as I found, presently thought I was resolv'd to kill him; for he came and kneel'd down to me, and, embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand, but I could easily see, that his meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him, that I would do him no harm; and taking him up by the hand, laugh'd at him, and, pointing to the kid which I had kill'd, beckon'd to him to run and fetch it, which he did; and while he was wondering and looking to see how the creature was kill'd, I loaded my gun again, and by-and-by I saw a great fowl, like an hawk, sit upon a tree within shot; so, to let *Friday* understand a little what I would do, I call'd him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, tho' I thought it had been an hawk; I say, pointing to the parrot, and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him see I would make him fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fir'd, and bid him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall: He stood like one frightened again, notwithstanding all that I had said to him; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put any thing into the gun; but thought there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or any thing near or far off; for the astonishment this created in him, was such, as could not wear off for a long time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipp'd me and my gun: As for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after; but would speak to it,

and talk to it, as if it had answer'd him, when he was by himself; which, as I afterwards learn'd of him, was to desire it not to kill him.

Well: after his astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had shot, which he did, but staid some time; for the parrot, not being quite dead, was flutter'd a good way off from the place where she fell; however he found her, took her up, and brought her to me; and, as I had perceiv'd his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark that might present; but nothing more offer'd at that time; so I brought home the kid; and the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it out as well as I could, and having a pot for that purpose, I boil'd or stew'd some of the flesh, and made some very good broth; after I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my man, who seem'd very glad of it, and lik'd it very well; but that which was strangest to him, was, to see me eat salt with it. He made a sign to me, that salt was not good to eat, and putting a little into his own mouth, he seem'd to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it; on the other hand I took some meat in my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at the salt; but it would not do, he would never care for salt with meat, or in his broth; at least, not a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boil'd meat and broth, I was resolv'd to feast him the next day with roasting a piece of the kid; this I did by hanging it before the

fire in a string, as I had seen many people do in *England*, setting two poles up, one on each side the fire and one cross on the top, and tying of the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually: This *Friday* admir'd very much; but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he lik'd it, that I could not but understand him: And at last he told me he would never eat man's flesh any more which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it in the manner I used to do, as I observ'd before; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of; for after that I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too; and in a little time *Friday* was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider, that having two mouths to feed instead of one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn, than I us'd to do; so I mark'd out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the same manner as before, in which *Friday* not only work'd very willingly, and very hard, but did it very chearfully; and I told him what it was for, that it was for corn for to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too: He appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know, that he thought I had much more labour upon me on his account, than I had for myself, and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in

this place: *Friday* began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost every thing I had occasion to call for, and of every place I had to send him to, and talk a great deal to me; so that, in short, I began now to have some use for my tongue again, which indeed I had very little occasion for before; *that is to say, about speech*: Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself; his simple unfeigned honesty appear'd to me more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature; and on his side, I believe he lov'd me more than it was possible for him ever to love any thing before.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country again; and having learn'd him *English* so well, that he could answer me almost any questions; I ask'd him, whether the nation that he belong'd to never conquer'd in battle. At which he smil'd and said, yes, yes, we always fight the better; that is, he meant, always get the better in fight, and so we began the following discourse. You always fight the better! said I: How came you to be taken prisoner then, *Friday*?

Friday. My nation beat much for all that.

Master. How beat; if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday. They more than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me: My nation ever beat them in the yonder place, where me no was; there my nation take one, two, great thousand.

Master. But why did not your side recover you from the hands of your enemies then?

Friday. They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the *Canoe*; my nation have no *Canoe* that time.

Master. Well, *Friday*, and what does your nation do with the men they take? Do they carry them away, and eat them as these did?

Friday. Yes, my nation eat mans too, eat all up.

Master. Where do they carry them?

Friday. Go to other place where they think.

Master. Do they come hither? (place.

Friday. Yes, yes, they come hither; come other else

Master. Have you been here with them?

Friday. Yes, I been here [*Points to the N. W. Side of the Island, which, it seems, was their Side.*]

By this I understood, that my man *Friday* had formerly been among the savages, who used to come on shore on the farther part of the island, on the said man-eating occasions that he was now brought for; and some time after, when I took the courage to carry him to that side, being the same I formerly mention'd, he presently knew the place, and told me, he was there once when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child: He could not tell twenty in *English*, but he number'd them by laying so many stones in a row, and pointing to me to tell them over.

I have told this passage, because it introduces what follows; that after I had this discourse with him, I ask'd him, how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the *Canoes* were not often lost: He told me there was no danger, no *Canoes* ever lost: but that after a little way out to sea, there was a current, and a wind always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I understand to be no more than the sets of the

tide, as going out, or coming in ; but I afterwards understood it was occasion'd by the great draught and reflux of the mighty river *Oroonoque* ; in the mouth of which river, as I thought afterwards, our island lay ; and that this land, which I perceived to the W. and N. W. was the great island *Trinidad*, on the north point of the mouth of the river : I ask'd *Friday* a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near : he told me all he knew, with the greatest openness imaginable : I ask'd him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name than *Caribs* ; from whence I easily understood, that these were the *Caribbees*, which our maps place on that part of *America* which reaches from the mouth of the river *Oroonoque* to *Guiana*, and onwards to *St. Martha* : He told me, that up a great way beyond the moon, that was beyond the setting of the moon, which must be W. from their country, there dwelt white-bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mention'd before ; and that they had kill'd *much mans*, that was his word : By all which I understood he meant the *Spaniards*, whose cruelties in *America* had been spread over the whole countries, and were remember'd by all the nations from father to son.

I inquired if he could tell me how I might come from this island, and get among those white men ; he told me, Yes, yes, I might go in *two Canoe* ; I could not understand what he meant by *two Canoe* ; till at last, with great difficulty, I found he meant, that it must be in a large great boat, as big as *two Canoes*.

This part of *Friday*'s discourse began to relish with

me very well ; and from this time I entertained some hopes, that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place, and that this poor savage might be a means to help me to do it.

During the long time that *Friday* had now been with me, and that he began to speak to me, and understand me, I was not wanting to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind ; particularly, I ask'd him one time, who made him ? The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had ask'd who was his father : But I took it by another handle, and ask'd him, who made the sea, the ground he walk'd on, and the hills and woods ? He told me, it was one old *Benamuckee* that liv'd beyond all : He could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old ; much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars : I ask'd him then, if this old person had made all things, why did not all things worship him ? He look'd very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence, said, *All things said O to him* : I ask'd him, if the people who die in his country, went away any where : He said, yes, they all went to *Benamuckee* : Then I asked him, whether those they eat up went thither too ? He said, yes.

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God. I told him, that the great maker of all things liv'd there, pointing up towards heaven ; That he governs the world by the same power and providence by which he made it : that he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us ; give every thing to us, take every thing from us ; and thus, by degrees, I open'd his eyes : He listen'd with great attention,

and receiv'd with pleasure the notion of *Jesus Christ* being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even in heaven: He told me one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater God than their *Benamuckee*, who liv'd but a little way off, and yet could not hear, till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt, to speak to him. I ask'd him, if ever he went thither to speak to him? He said, no, they never went that were young men; none went thither but the old men; whom he call'd their *Oowokakee*, that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious, or clergy; and that they went to say O (so he call'd saying prayers) and then came back, and told them what *Benamuckee* said; By this I observ'd, that there is *Priestcraft* even amongst the most blinded ignorant pagans in the world; and the policy of making a secret of religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is not only to be found in the *Roman* but perhaps in all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages.

I endeavour'd to clear up this fraud to my man *Friday*; and told him, that the pretence of their old men going up to the mountains to say O to their God *Benamuckee*, was a cheat; and their bringing word from thence what he said, was much more so; that if they met with any answer, or spoke with any one there, it must be with an evil spirit: And then I enter'd into a long discourse with him about the devil, the original of him, his rebellion against God, his enmity to man, the reason of it, his setting himself up in the dark parts of the world to be worshipp'd instead of God, and as God,

and the many stratagems he made use of, to delude mankind to their ruin; how he had a secret access to our passions, and to our affections, to adapt his snares so to our inclinations, as to cause us even to be our own tempters, and to run upon our own destruction by our own choice.

I found it was not so easy to imprint right notions in his mind about the devil, as it was about the being of a God: nature assisted all my arguments to evidence to him even the necessity of a great first cause, and over-ruling governing power, a secret directing providence, and of the equity and justice of paying homage to him that made us, and the like; but there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil spirit, of his original, his being, his nature, and above all, of his inclination to do evil, and to draw us in to do so too: and the poor creature puzzled me once in such a manner, by a question merely natural and innocent, that I scarce knew what to say to him. I had been talking a great deal to him of the power of God, his omnipotence, his dreadful aversion to sin, his being a consuming fire to the workers of iniquity; how, as he had made us all, he could destroy us, and all the world, in a moment; and he listened with great seriousness to me all the while.

After this. I had been telling him how the devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and used all his malice and skill to defeat the good designs of providence, and to ruin the kingdom of Christ in the world, and the like: Well, says *Friday*, but you say, God is so strong, so great, is he not much strong, much might, as the devil? Yes, yes, said I, *Friday*, God is,

stronger than the devil, God is above the devil, and therefore we pray to God to tread him under our feet, and enable us to resist his temptations, and quench his fiery darts. 'But, says he again, if God much 'strong, much might, as the devil, why God not kill 'the devil, so make him no more wicked?'

I was strangely surpris'd at this question, and after all, though I was now an old man, yet I was but a young doctor, and ill enough qualified for a casuist, or a solver of difficulties: And at first, I could not tell what to say; so I pretended not to hear him, and asked him what he said: But he was too earnest for an answer to forget his question; so that he repeated it in the very same broken words, as above. By this time I had recovered myself a little, and I said, 'God 'will at last punish him severely, he is reserved for the 'judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit: to 'dwell with everlasting fire;' this did not satisfy *Friday*; but he returns upon me, repeating my words, 'reserve 'at last, me no understand: but why not kill the de- 'vil now, not kill great ago?' You may as well ask me, said I, why God does not kill you and me, when we do wicked things here that offend him: we are preserved to repent and be pardoned. He muses a while at this; *Well, well*, says he, mighty affectionately, *that well, so you, I, devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all*: here I was run down again by him to the last degree, and it was a testimony to me, how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worship or homage due to the supreme being of God, as the consequence of our nature; yet no-

thing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, and of a redemption purchased for us; of a mediator of a new covenant; and of an intercessor at the footstool of God's throne, I say, nothing but a revelation from heaven can form these in the soul; and that therefore the gospel of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, I mean the word of God, and the spirit of God, promised for the guide and sanctifier of his people, are the absolutely necessary instructors of the souls of men in the saving knowledge of God, and the means of salvation.

I therefore diverted the present discourse between me and my man, rising up hastily, as upon some sudden occasion of going out; then sending him for something a great way off, I seriously prayed to God, that he would enable me to instruct savingly this poor savage, assisting by his spirit the heart of the poor ignorant creature to receive the light of the knowledge of God in *Christ*, reconciling him to himself, and would guide me to speak so to him from the word of God, as his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved: when he came again to me, I entered into a long discourse with him upon the subject of the redemption of man by the saviour of the world, and of the doctrine of the gospel preached from heaven, viz. of repentance towards God, and faith in our blessed Lord *Jesus*: I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our blessed redeemer took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of *Abraham*, and how for that reason the fallen angels had no share in the redemption; that he came only to the lost sheep of the house of *Israel*, and the like.

I had, God knows, more sincerity than knowledge, in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction; and must acknowledge, what I believe all that act upon the same principle will find, that in laying things open to him, I really informed and instructed myself in many things that either I did not know, or had not fully considered before; but which occurred naturally to my mind, upon my searching into them, for the information of this poor savage; and I had more affection in my inquiry after things upon this occasion, than ever I felt before; so that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reason to be thankful, that ever he came to me: my grief sat lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure; and when I reflected, that in this solitary life which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved myself to look up to heaven, and to seek to the hand that brought me thither, but was now to be made an instrument, under providence, to save the life, and, for aught I know, the soul, of a poor savage, and bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the christian doctrine, that he might know Christ Jesus, to know whom is life eternal; I say, when I reflected upon all these things, a secret joy ran thro' every part of my soul, and I frequently rejoiced, that ever I was brought to this place, which I had often thought the most dreadful of all afflictions, that could possibly have befallen me.

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time, and the conversation which employed the hours between *Friday* and me was such, as made the three years which we lived there together, perfect-

ly and completely happy, if any such thing as complete happiness can be found in a sublunary state: the savage was now a good christian, a much better than I; though I have reason to hope, and bless God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted restored penitents: we had here the word of God to read, and no farther off from his spirit to instruct, than if we had been in *England*.

I always applied myself to reading the scripture, and to let him know, as well as I could, the meaning of what I read; and he again, by his serious inquiries and questions, made me, as I said before, a much better scholar in the scripture-knowledge, than I should ever have been by my own mere private reading: Another thing I cannot refrain from observing here also from experience, in this retired part of my life; *viz.* how infinite and inexpressible a blessing it is, that the knowledge of God, and of the doctrine of salvation by *Jesus Christ*, is so plainly laid down in the word of God, so easy to be received and understood, that as the bare reading the scripture made me capable of understanding enough of my duty to carry me directly on to the great work of sincere repentance of my sins, and laying hold of a favour for life and salvation, to a stated reformation in practice, and obedience to all God's commands, and this without any teacher or instructor (I mean, human) so the same plain instruction sufficiently served to the enlightening this savage creature, and bringing him to be such a christian, as I have known few equal to him in my life.

As to the disputes, wranglings, strife, and contention which has happened in the world about religion,

Whether niceties in doctrines, or schemes of church-government, they were all perfectly useless to us, as, for aught I can yet see, they have to all the rest in the world: We had the sure guide to heaven, *viz.* the word of God; and we had blessed be God, comfortable views of the spirit of God, teaching and instructing us by his word, leading us into all truth, and making us both willing and obedient to the instruction of his word; and I cannot see the least use that the greatest knowledge of the disputed points in religion, which have made such confusions in the world, would have been to us, if we could have obtained it: But I must go on with the historical part of things, and take every part in its order.

After *Friday* and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak fluently, though in broken *English*, to me; I acquainted him with my own story, or at least so much of it as related to my coming into the place, how I had lived there, and how long: I let him into the mystery (for such it was to him) of gunpowder and bullets, and taught him how to shoot: I gave him a knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with, and I made him a belt with a frog hanging to it, such as in *England* we wear hangers in; and in the frog, instead of an hanger, I gave him an hatchet, which was not only as good a weapon in some cases, but much more useful upon many occasions.

I described to him the countries of *Europe*, and particularly *England*, which I came from; how we lived, how we worshipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all the parts of

the world: I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and shew'd him, as near as I could, the place where she lay; but she was all beaten in pieces long before, and quite gone.

I shew'd him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when we escap'd, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then, but was now fallen almost all to pieces: upon seeing this boat, *Friday* stood musing a great while, and said nothing; I ask'd him what it was he studied upon? at last, says he, *Me see such boat like come to place at my nation.*

I did not understand him a good while; but at last, when I had examined further into it, I understood by him, that a boat, such as that had been, came on shore upon the country where he liv'd; that is, as he explain'd it, was driven thither by strefs of weather: I presently imagin'd, that some *European* ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose, and drive ashore; but was so dull, that I never once thought of men making escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come; so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough; but brought me better to understand him, when he added, with some warmth; *We save the white mans from drown:* then I presently ask'd him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat: *Yes*, he said, *the boat full of white mans*: I ask'd him, how many? He told upon his fingers seventeen; I ask'd him then, what became of them? He told me, *They live, they dwell at my nation.*

This put new thoughts into my head again; for I

presently imagined, that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in sight of my island, as I now call it; and who, after the ship was struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitably lost, had saved themselves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild shore among the savages.

Upon this I inquired of him more critically, what was become of them; he assur'd me they liv'd still there, that they had been there about four years, that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live: I ask'd him, how it came to pass they did not kill them, and eat them? He said, *No, they make brother with them*; that is, as I understand him, a truce: and then he added, *They eat no mans but when make the war fight*: That is to say, they never eat any men, but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was after this, some considerable time, that being on the top of the hill, at the east-side of the island, from whence, as I have said, I had in a clear day discover'd the main or continent of *America*; *Friday*, the weather being very serene, looks very earnestly towards the main land, and in a kind of surprise falls a jumping and dancing, and calls out to me, for I was at some distance from him: I ask'd him what was the matter? *O joy!* says he, *O glad!* *There see my country, there my nation!*

I observ'd an extraordinary sense of pleasure appeared in his face, and his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discover'd a strange eagerness, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again; and this observation of mine put a great many thoughts into me, which made me at first not so easy about my new man

Friday, as I was before; and I made no doubt, but that if *Friday* could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligations to me; and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of me and come back perhaps, with an hundred or two of them, and make a feast upon me, at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his enemies, when they were taken in war.

But I wrong'd the poor honest creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards: however, as my jealousy increased, and held me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before; in which I was certainly in the wrong too, the honest grateful creature having no thought about it, but what consisted of the best principles, both as a religious christian, and as a grateful friend, as appeared afterwards to my full satisfaction.

Whilst my jealousy of him lasted, you may be sure I was every day pumping him to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts, which I suspected were in him; but I found every thing he said was honest, and so innocent, that I could find nothing to nourish my suspicion; and, in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last intirely his own again; nor did he in the least perceive, that I was uneasy; and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day, walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at the sea, so that we could not see the continent, I called to him, and said, *Friday*, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation? *Yes*, he said, *I be much O glad to be at my own nation.*

What would you do there? said I: would you turn wild again, eat mans flesh again, and be a savage as you were before? He look'd full of concern, and shaking his head, said, *No, no, Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-flesh, milk, no eat man again.* Why then, said I to him, *they will kill you:* he look'd grave at that, and then said, *No, they no kill me, they willingly love learn:* he meant by this, they would be willing to learn: he added, they learn'd much of the bearded mans that came in the boat: then I ask'd him, if he would go back to them? He smil'd at that, and told me he could not swim so far: I told him I would make a *Canoe* for him: he told me he would go, if I would go with him. I go! said I, why they will eat me if I come there: *No, no,* says he, *me make them no eat you, me make them much love you:* He meant he would tell them how I had kill'd his enemies and sav'd his life, and so he would make them love me: then he told me as well as he could how kind they were to seventeen white men, or bearded men, as he call'd them, who came on shore in distress.

From this time, I confess, I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with these bearded men, who, I made no doubt, were *Spaniards* or *Portuguese*; not doubting but, if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent, and a good company together, better than I could from an island forty miles off the shore, and alone without help: so, after some days, I took *Friday* to work again, by way of discourse; and told him, I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation; and accordingly I carried him to my frigate, which lay on

the other side of the island; and having clear'd it of water (for I always kept it sunk in the water) I brought it out, shew'd it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was a most dextrous fellow at managing it, would make it go almost as swift and fast again as I could; so when he was in, I said to him, well, now *Friday*, shall we go to your nation? He look'd very dull at my saying so, which, it seems, was because he thought the boat too small to go so far: I told him then I had a bigger; so the next day, I went to the place where the first boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into the water; he said that was big enough; but then, as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three-and-twenty years there, the sun had split and dry'd it, that it was in a manner rotten. *Friday* told me, such a boat would do very well, and would carry *much enough vittle, drink, bread*, that was his way of talking.

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fix'd upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answer'd not one word, but look'd very grave and sad. I ask'd him what was the matter with him. He ask'd me again thus, *Why you angry mad with Friday? what me done?* I ask'd him what he meant; I told him I was not angry with him at all: *No angry! No angry!* says he, repeating the words several times, *why send Friday home away to my nation?* Why, said I, *Friday*, did you not say you wish'd you were there? *Yes, yes*, says he, *wish be both there, no wish Friday there, no master there.* In a word, he would not think of going there with-

out me. I go there, *Friday!* said I: what should I do there? He turn'd very quick upon me at this; *You do great deal much good, says he, you teach wild mans be good, sober, tame mans; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new life.* Alas, *Friday*, said I, thou knowest not what thou sayest; I am but an ignorant man myself. *Yes, yes, says he, you teachee me good, you teachee them good.* No, no, *Friday*, said I, you shall go without me; leave me here to live by myself, as I did before. He look'd confus'd again at that word, and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, and gives it me. What must I do with this? said I to him: *You take kill Friday, says he.* What must I kill you for? said I again. He returns very quick, *What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday, no send Friday away.* This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw tears stand in his eyes. In a word, I so plainly discover'd the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found by all his discourse, a settled affection to me, and that nothing should part him from me, so I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country, was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good; a thing, which as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought, or intention, or desire of undertaking it. But still I found a strong inclination to my attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the former discourse; viz.

That there were seventeen bearded men there; and therefore, without any delay, I went to work with *Friday*, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large *Periagua* or *Canoe*, to undertake the voyage: there were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of *Periaguas* and *Canoes* only, but even of good large vessels: but the main thing I looked at, was to get one so near the water that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first.

At last, *Friday* pitched upon a tree; for I found he knew much better than I, what kind of wood was fittest for it; nor can I tell to this day, what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call *Fustic*, or between that and the *Nicaragua* wood, for it was much of the same colour and smell: *Friday* was for burning the hollow or cavity of this tree out, to make it into a boat; but I shewed him how rather to cut it out with tools, which after I shew'd him how to use, he did very handily, and in about a month's hard labour we finish'd it, and made it very handsome, especially when with our axes, which I shewed him how to handle, we cut and hew'd the outside into the true shape of a boat; after this however, it cost us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were inch by inch, upon great rollers, into the water: but when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with great ease.

When she was in the water, and tho' she was so big, it amaz'd me to see with what dexterity and how swift my man *Friday* would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along; so I asked him if he would, and if we

might venture over in her: *Yes*, he said, *he venture over in her very well, though great blow wind*: However, I had a farther design that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a mast and sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable: as to a mast, that was easy enough to get; so I pitch'd upon a strait young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, and which there was great plenty of in the island; and I set *Friday* to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it: but as to the sail, that was my particular care; I knew I had old sails, or rather pieces of old sails enough; but as I had them now twenty six years by me, and had not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of use for them, I did not doubt but they were all rotten; and indeed most of them were so; however, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with these I went to work, and with a great deal of pains, and aukward tedious stitching (you may be sure) for want of needles, I at length made a three-corner'd ugly thing, like what we call in *England* a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little short sprit at the top, such as usually our ships long-boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage: because it was such a one as I used in the boat in which I made my escape from *Barbary*, as related in the first part of my story.

I was near two months performing this last work; viz. rigging and fitting my mast and sails; for I finish'd them very complete, making a small stay, and a sail or foresail to it, to assist, if we should turn to windward; and, which was more than all, I fix'd a rudder to the

stern of her, to steer with ; and tho' I was but a bungling shipwright, yet as I knew the usefulness and even necessity of such a thing, I applied myself with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass, tho' considering the many dull contrivances I had for it that fail'd, I think it cost me almost as much labour as making the boat.

After all this was done, I had my man *Friday* to teach as to what belong'd to the navigation of my boat; for tho' he knew very well how to paddle the *Canoe*, he knew nothing what belong'd to a sail and a rudder, and was the most amaz'd when he saw me work the boat to and again in the sea by the rudder, and how the sail gyb'd, and fill'd this way or that way, as the course we sail'd chang'd; I say, when he saw this, he stood like one astonish'd and amaz'd: however with a little use, I made all these things familiar to him, and he became an expert sailor, except that as to the compass, I could make him understand very little of that: on the other hand, as there was very little cloudy weather, and seldom or never any fogs in those parts, there was the less occasion for a compass, seeing the stars were always to be seen by night, and the shore by day. except in the rainy seasons; and then nobody cared to stir abroad, either by land or sea.

I was now enter'd on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had this creature with me, ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the rest of my time. I kept the anniversary of my landing here with the same thankfulness to God for his mercies as at first; and if I had

such cause of acknowledgment at first, I had much more so now, having such additional testimonies of the care of providence over me, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and speedily deliver'd; for I had an invincible impression upon my thoughts, that my deliverance was at hand, and that I should not be another year in this place: however, I went on with my husbandry, digging, planting, fencing as usual; I gather'd and cur'd my grapes, and did every necessary thing, as before.

The rainy season was in the mean time upon me, when I kept more within-doors than at other times; so I had stow'd our new vessel as secure as we could, bringing her up into the creek, where, as I said in the beginning, I landed my rafts from the ship; and haling her up into the shore, at high-water mark, I made my man *Friday* dig a little dock, just big enough to hold her, and just deep enough to give her water enough to float in; and then when the tide was out, we made a strong dam cross the end of it, to keep the water out; and so she lay dry, as to the tide from the sea; and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees so thick, that she was as well thatch'd as an house; and thus we waited for the months of *November* and *December*, in which I design'd to make my adventure.

When the settled season began to come in, as the thought of my design return'd with the fair weather, I was preparing daily for the voyage; and the first thing I did was to lay up a certain quantity of provision, being the store for the voyage; and intended in a week or a fortnight's time, to open the dock, and

launch out our boat : I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I call'd to *Friday*, and bid him go to the seashore, and see if he could find a turtle or tortoise, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs, as well as the flesh. *Friday* had not been long gone, when he came running back and flew over my outward wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on; and before I had time to speak to him, he cry'd out to me, *O master ! O master ! O sorrow ! O bad !* What's the matter, *Friday*? said I; *O yonder there*, says he, *one, two, three canoe ! one, two, three !* By this way of speaking I concluded there were six; but on inquiry I found there were but three. Well *Friday*, said I, do not be frightened; so I hearten'd him up as well as I could: however, I saw the poor fellow most terribly scar'd; for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces, and eat him; the poor fellow trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him: I comforted him as well as I could, and told him I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him. *But*, said I, *Friday*, *we must resolve to fight them: can you fight*, *Friday*? *Me shoot*, says he, *but there come many great number*. No matter for that said I again, our guns will fright them that we do not kill. So I ask'd him, whether, if I resolv'd to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bade him? He said, *me die, when you bid die, master*; so I went and fetch'd a good dram of rum, and gave him; for I had been so good an husband of my rum, that I had a great deal left: when he haddrank

it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces which we always carry'd, and load them with large swan-shot, as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four musquets, and loaded them with two flugs, and five small bullets each; and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each; I hung my great sword, as usual, naked by my side, and gave *Friday*, his hatchet.

When I had thus prepar'd myself, I took my perspective-glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I found quickly by my glass, that there were one and twenty savages, three prisoners, and three *Canoes*; and that their whole business seem'd to be the triumphant banquet upon these three human bodies; a barbarous feast indeed but nothing more than as I had observ'd was usual with them.

I observ'd also, that they were landed, not where they had done when *Friday* made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came close almost down to the sea: this, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand these wretches came about, so fill'd me with indignation, that I came down again to *Friday*, and told him, I was resolv'd to go down to them, and kill them all; and ask'd him if he would stand by me. He was now gotten over his fright, and his spirits being a little rais'd with the dram I had given him, he was very chearful; and told me, as before, *he would die when I bid die*.

In this fit of fury, I took first and divided the arms which I had charg'd, as before, between us: I gave *Friday* one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder; and I took one pistol, and the other three, myself; and in this posture we march'd out; I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and

gave *Friday* a large bag with more powder and bullets; and as to orders, I charg'd him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or do any thing till I bid him; and in the mean time, not to speak a word: in this posture I fetch'd a compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood; so that I might come within shot of them before I should be discover'd, which I had seen by my glass it was easy to do.

While I was making this march, my former thoughts returning, I began to abate my resolution: I do not mean, that I entertain'd any fear of their number; for as they were naked, unarm'd wretches, 'tis certain I was superior to them; nay, though I had been alone: but it occur'd to my thoughts, what call, what occasion, much less, what necessity, I was in to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people, who had neither done or intended me any wrong: who as to me, were innocent, and whose barbarous customs were their own disaster, being in them a token indeed of God's having left them, with the other nations of that part of the world, to such stupidity, and to such inhuman courses but did not call me to take upon me to be a judge of their actions, much less an executioner of his justice; that whenever he thought fit, he would take the cause into his own hands, and by national vengeance punish them for rational crimes; but that in the mean time, it was none of my business: that it was true, *Friday* might justify it, because he was a declar'd enemy, and in a state of war with those very particular people, and it was lawful for him to attack them; but I could not say the same with respect to me: these things were so

warmly press'd upon my thoughts all the way as I went that I resolv'd I would only go to place myself near them, that I might observe their barbarous feast, and that I would act then as God should direct; but that unless something offer'd that was more a call to me than yet I knew of, I would not meddle with them.

With this resolution I enter'd the wood, and with all possible wariness and silence (*Friday* following close at my heels,) I march'd till I came to the skirt of the wood; on the side which was next to them; only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them: here I call'd softly to *Friday*, and shewing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing: he did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly view'd there; that they were all about the fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners; and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, whom he said they would kill next, and which fir'd the very soul within me. He told me, it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men whom he had told me of, who came to their country in the boat. I was fill'd with horror at the very naming the white-bearded man, and, going to the tree, I saw plainly, by my glass, a white man, who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and his feet ty'd with flags, or things like rushes; and that he was an *European*, and had cloaths on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which, by going a little way about, I saw I might

come at undiscover'd, and that then I should be within half shot of them; so I with-held my passion, tho' I was indeed enrag'd to the highest degree; and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree, and then I came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose; for nineteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground all close huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor *Christian*, and bring him, perhaps limb by limb, to their fire; and they were stoop'd down to untie the bands at his feet. I turn'd to *Friday*; Now, *Friday*, said I, do as I bid thee. *Friday* said, he would. Then, *Friday*, said I, do exactly as you see me do; fail in nothing. So I set down one of the musquets and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and *Friday* did the like by his; and with the other musquet I took my aim at the savages, bidding him do the like. Then asking him if he was ready, he said, yes. Then fire at them, said I; and the same moment I fir'd also.

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot, he kill'd two of them and wounded three more; and on my side, I kill'd one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in a dreadful consternation; and all of 'em, who were not hurt, jump'd up upon their feet immediately, but did not know which way to run, or which way to look for they knew not from whence their destruction came. *Friday* kept his eyes close upon me, that as I had bid him, he might observe what I did; so, as soon as the

first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and *Friday* did the like; he sees me cock, and present; he did the same again. Are you ready, *Friday*? said I. Yes, says he. Let fly then, said I, in the name of God; and with that I fir'd again among the amazed wretches, and so did *Friday*; and as our pieces were now loaded with what I called swan-shot, or small pistol bullets, we found only two drop; but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody and miserably wounded, most of them; whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

Now, *Friday*, said I, laying down the discharged pieces, and taking up the musquet, which was yet loaden, follow me, said I; which he did, with a deal of courage; upon which I rushed out of the wood, and shewed myself, and *Friday* close at my foot: As soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade *Friday* do so too, and running as fast as I could, *which by the way was not very fast, being loaded with arms as I was*, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach, or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea; the two butchers, who were just going to work with him, had left him, at the surprise of our first fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a *Canoe*, and three more of the rest made the same way: I turned to *Friday*, and bade him step forwards, and fire at them; he understood me immediately, and running about forty yards to be near them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all; for I saw them all fall on an heap into

the boat; though I saw two of them up again quickly: However, he killed two of them, and wounded the third, so that he lay down in the bottom of the boat, as if he had been dead.

While my man *Friday* fir'd at them, I pull'd out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim, and loosing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and asked him in the *Portuguese* tongue, what he was? he answered in *Latin*, *Christianus*; but was so weak and faint, that he could scarce stand or speak; I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he eat; then I asked him, what countryman he was; and he said, *Espagnole*; and, being a little recovered, let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance: *Seignior*, said I, with as much *Spanish*, as I could make up, we will talk afterwards, but we must fight now: If you have any strength left, take this pistol and sword, and lay about you: he took them very thankfully, and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant; for the truth is, as the whole was a surprise to them, so the poor creatures were so much frightened with the noise of our pieces, that they fell down for mere amazement and fear, and had no more power to attempt their own escape, than their flesh had to resist our shot; and that was the case of those five that *Friday* shot in the boat; for as three of them fell with the hurt they received, so the other two fell with the fright.

I kept my piece in my hand still, without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the *Spaniard* my pistol and sword; so I called to *Friday*, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there, that had been discharged, which he did with great swiftness; and then giving him my musquet, I sat down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted: While I was loading these pieces there happened a fierce engagement between the *Spaniard* and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it: The *Spaniard*, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagined, tho' weak, had fought this *Indian* a good while, and had cut him two great wounds on his head; but the savage, being a stout lusty fellow, closing in with him, had thrown him down (being faint) and was wringing my sword out of his hand, when the *Spaniard*, tho' undermost, wisely quitting his sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, shot the savage through the body, and killed him upon the spot, before I, who was running to help, could come near him.

Friday, being now left at his liberty, pursued the flying wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet; and with that he dispatched those three, who, as I said before, were wounded at first and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with; and the *Spaniard* coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood, where *Friday*

pursued them, and killed one of them; but the other was too nimble for him; and tho' he was wounded, yet he plunged into the sea, and swam with all his might off to those who were left in the *Canoe*, which three in the *Canoe*, with one wounded, who we know not whether he died or no, were all that escap'd our hands of one-and-twenty. The account of the rest is as follows;

3 Killed at our shot from the tree.

2 Killed at the next shot.

2 Killed by *Friday* in the boat.

2 Killed by *ditto*, of those at first wounded.

1 Killed by *ditto*, in the wood.

3 Killed by the *Spaniard*.

4 Killed, being found dropt here-and-there of their wounds, or killed by *Friday* in his chace of them.

4 Escaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not dead.

21 In all.

Those that were in the *Canoe*, worked hard to get out of gun-shot; and tho' *Friday* made two or three shot at them, I did not find that he hit any of them: *Friday* would fain have had me take one of their *Canoes*, and pursue them; and indeed I was very anxious about their escape, lest carrying the news home to their people, they should come back, perhaps, with two or three hundred of their *Canoes*, and devour us by mere multitudes; so I consented to pursue them by

sea; and running to one of their *Canoes*, I jumped in, and bade *Friday* follow me; but when I was in the *Canoe*, I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot, as the *Spaniard* was, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was; for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat, he was tied so hard, neck and heels, and had been tied so long, that he had really little life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted flags, or rushes, which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up; but he could not stand, or speak, but groaned most piteously, believing, it seems still, that he was only unbound in order to be killed.

When *Friday* came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram, which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat; but when *Friday* came to hear him speak, and looked in his face, it would have moved any one to tears, to have seen how *Friday* kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung and jumped about again, like a distracted creature: It was a good while, before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter, but when he came a little to himself, he told me, that it was his father.

It was not easy for me to express how it moved me; to see what ecstasy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage, at the sight of his father, and of his

being delivered from death; nor indeed can I describe half the extravagancies of his affection after this; for he went into the boat and out of the boat a great many times: When he went into him, he would sit down by him, open his breast, and hold his father's head close to his bosom, half an hour together, to nourish it: then he took his arms and ankles, which were numb'd and stiff with the binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hands; and I, perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This action put an end to our pursuit of the *Canoe* with the other savages, who were now gotten almost out of sight; and it was happy for us, that we did not; for it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could be gotten a quarter of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached to their own coast.

But to return to *Friday*; he was so busy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for some time: but after I thought he could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest extreme. Then I asked him, if he had given his father any bread? He shook his head, and said, *none: Ugly dog eat all up self.* So I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried on purpose; I also gave him a dram for himself, but he would not taste it, but carried it to his father: I had in my pocket also two or

three bunches of my raisins, so I gave him a handful of them for his father. He had no sooner given his father these raisins, but I saw him come out of the boat, and run away as if he had been bewitched. He ran at such a rate (for he was the swiftest fellow of his foot that ever I saw) I say, he ran at such a rate, that he was out of sight, as it were in an instant; and tho' I called and hallooed too after him, it was all one; away he went, and in a quarter of an hour I saw him come back again, tho' not so fast as he went; and as he came nearer, I found his pace was slacker, because he had something in his hand.

When he came up to me, I found he had been quite home for an earthen jug, or pot, to bring his father some fresh water; and that he had got two more cakes or loaves of bread. The bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father: However, as I was very thirsty too, I took a little sup of it: This water revived his father more than all the rum or spirits I had given him: for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drank, I called him to know if there was any water left; he said, yes; and I bade him give it to the poor *Spaniard*, who was in as much want of it as his father; and I sent one of the cakes, that *Friday* brought, to the *Spaniard* too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place, under the shade of a tree, and whose limbs were also very stiff, and very much swelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with: When I saw that upon *Friday's* coming to him with the water, he sat up and drank, and took the bread, and began to eat,

I went to him, and gave him an handful of raisins; he look'd up in my face with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance; but was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand up upon his feet; he tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ankles were so swell'd, and so painful to him; so I bade him sit still, and caus'd *Friday* to rub his ankles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I observ'd the poor affectionate creature every two minutes, or perhaps less, all the while he was here, turn'd his head about, to see if his father was in the same place and posture as he left him sitting; and at last he found he was not to be seen; at which he started up, and without speaking a word, flew with that swiftness to him, that one could scarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went: but when he came, he only found he had laid himself down to ease his limbs: so *Friday* came back to me presently, and I then spoke to the *Spaniard* to let *Friday* help him up, if he could and lead him to the boat, and then he should carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him: but *Friday*, a lusty young fellow, took the *Spaniard* quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side or gunnel of the *Canoe*, with his feet in the inside of it, and then lifted them quite in, and set him close to his father, and presently stepping out again, launch'd the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, tho' the wind blew pretty hard too, so he brought them both safe into our creek; and leaving them in

the boat, runs away to fetch the other *Canoe*: as he pass'd me, I spoke to him, and ask'd him, whither he went? He told me, *go fetch more boat*; so away he went, like the wind; for sure never man or horse ran like him, and he had the other *Canoe* in the creek, almost as soon as I got to it by land; so he waisted me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did; but they were neither of them able to walk; so that poor *Friday* knew not what to do.

To remedy this, I went to work in my thought, and calling to *Friday* to bid them sit down on the bank while he came to me, I soon made a kind of handbarrow to lay them on, and *Friday* and I carried them up both together upon it between us: but when we got them to the outside of our wall, or fortification, we were at a worse loss than before; for it was impossible to get them over; and I was resolv'd not to break it down; so I set to work again; and *Friday* and I, in about two hours time, made a very handsome tent cover'd with old sails, and above that with boughs of trees, being in the space without our outward fence, and between that and the grove of young wood which I had planted: and here we made two beds of such things as I had; *viz.* of good rice-straw, with blankets laid upon it to lie on, and another to cover them on each bed.

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection which I frequently made, how like a king I look'd: first of all, the whole country was my own mere property; so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. 2^{dly}, My people were perfectly subjected: I was ab-

folute lord and lawgiver; they all ow'd their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, *if there had been occasion for it*, for me: it was remarkable too I had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions. My man *Friday* was a protestant; his father a *Pagan* and a *Canibal*; and the *Spaniard* was a *Papist*: however I allow'd liberty of conscience throughout my dominions: but this is by the way.

As soon as I had secur'd my two weak rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some provision for them: and the first thing I did, I order'd *Friday* to take a yearling goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be kill'd: then I cut off the hinder quarter, and, chopping it into small pieces, I set *Friday* to work, to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish, I assure you of flesh and broth; having put some barley and rice also, into the broth; and as I cook'd it without doors (for I made no fire within my inner wall) so I carried it all into the new tent; and having set a table there for them, I sat down and eat my dinner also with them; and, as well as I could, cheer'd them and encouraged them, *Friday* being my interpreter, especially to his father, and indeed to the *Spaniard* too; for the *Spaniard* spoke the language of the *Savages* pretty well.

After we had din'd or rather supp'd, I order'd *Friday* to take one of the *Canoes*, and go and fetch our musquets and other fire-arms, which for want of time we had left upon the place of battle; and the next day I order'd him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would pre-

sently be offensive; and I also order'd him to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast, which I knew were pretty much, and which I could not think of doing myself; nay, I could not bear to see them, if I went that way: all which he punctually perform'd and defac'd the very appearance of the *Savages* being there; so that when I went again, I could scarce know where it was, otherwise than by the corner of the wood pointing to the place.

I then began to enter into a little conversation with my two new subjects; and first I set *Friday* to inquire of his father, what he thought of the escape of the *Savages* in that *Canoe*, and whether he might expect a return of them with a power too great for us to resist? his first opinion was, that the *Savages* in the boat never could live out the storm, which blew that night they went off, but must of necessity be drown'd or driven south to those other shores, where they were as sure to be devour'd, as they were to be drown'd if they were cast away; but as to what they would do if they came safe on shore, he said, he knew not; but it was his opinion, that they were so dreadfully frightened with the manner of being attack'd, the noise, and the fire, that he believ'd they would tell their people they were all kill'd by thunder and lightning, and not by the hand of man; and that the two which appear'd (*viz. Friday and I*) were two heavenly spirits or furies come down to destroy them, and not men with weapons. This, he said, he knew, because he heard them all cry out so in their language to one another; for it was impossible to them, to conceive that a man should dart fire, and speak thunder, and kill at a distance, without list-

ing up the hand, as was done now. And this old savage was in the right ; for, as I understood since by other hands, the savages of that part never attempted to go over to the island afterwards. They were so terrify'd with the accounts given by those four men (for it seems they did escape the sea) that they believ'd, whoever went to that enchanted island, would be destroyed with fire from the Gods.

This, however, I knew not, and therefore was under continual apprehensions for a good while, and kept always upon my guard, I and all my army; for as we were now four of us, I would have ventur'd upon an hundred of them fairly in the open field at any time.

In a little time however, no more *Canoes* appearing, the fear of their coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration, being likewise assur'd by *Friday's* father, that I might depend upon good usage from their nation on his account, if I would go.

But my thoughts were a little suspended, when I had a serious discourse with the *Spaniard*, and when I understood, that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and *Portuguese*, who having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, liv'd there at peace indeed with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life: I ask'd him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a *Spanish* ship bound from the *Rio de la Plata* to the *Havanna*, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what *European* goods they could meet with there; that they had five *Portuguese* seamen on board, whom

they took out of another wreck ; that five of their own men were drown'd when first the ship was lost ; and that these escap'd thro' infinite dangers and hazards, and arriv'd almost starv'd on the *Canibal* coast, where they expected to have been devour'd every moment.

He told me, they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless, for that they had neither powder or ball, the washing of the sea having spoil'd all their powder, but a little which they used at their first landing to provide themselves some food.

I ask'd him what he thought would become of them there ; and if they had form'd no design of making any escape ? He said, they had many consultations about it ; but that having neither vessel, nor tools to build one, or provisions of any kind, their counsels always ended in tears and despair.

I ask'd him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me, which might tend towards an escape ; and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done ? I told him with freedom, I fear'd mostly their treachery and ill usage of me, if I put my life in their hands ; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man ; nor did men always square their dealings by the obligations they had receiv'd, so much as they did by the advantages they expected : I told him, it would be very hard, that I should be the instrument of their deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their prisoner in *new Spain*, where an *Englishman* was certain to be made a sacrifice, what necessity, or what accident soever, brought him thither : and that I had rather be deliver'd up to the *Savages*, and be devour'd alive, than fall into the merci-

less claws of the priests, and be carried into the *inquisition*. I added, that otherwise I was persuaded, if they were all here, we might, with so many hands, build a bark large enough to carry us all away either to the *Brazils* southward, or to the islands or *Spanish* coast northward : but that if in requital they should, when I had put weapons into their hands, carry me by force among their own people, I might be ill us'd for my kindness, to them, and make my case worse than it was before.

He answer'd with a great deal of candour and ingenuity, that their condition was so miserable, and they were so sensible of it, that he believ'd they would abhor the thought of using any man unkindly that should contribute to their deliverance ; and that, if I pleas'd, he would go to them with the old man, and discourse with them about it, and return again, and bring me their answer : that he would make conditions with them upon their solemn oath, that they would be absolutely under my leading, as their commander and captain ; and that they should swear upon the holy sacraments and gospel, to be true to me, and to go to such christian country as I should agree to, and no other ; and to be directed wholly and absolutely by my orders, till they were landed safely in such country as I intended, and that he would bring a contract from under their hands for that purpose.

Then he told me, he would first swear to me himself, that he would never stir from me as long as he liv'd, till I gave him order ; and that he would take my side to the last drop of blood, if there should happen the least breach of faith among his countrymen.

He told me, they were all of them very civil honest men, and they were under the greatest distress imaginable, having neither weapons or cloaths, nor any food but at the mercy and discretion of the *Savages*; out of all hopes of ever returning to their own country; and that he was sure, if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon these assurances, I resolv'd to venture to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old *Savage* and this *Spaniard* over to them to treat: but when he had gotten all things in readiness to go, the *Spaniard* himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it on one hand, and so much sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied in it; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. The case was thus:

He had been with us now about a month; during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had laid up; which, as it was more than sufficient for myself, so it was not sufficient, at least, without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increas'd to number four: but much less would it be sufficient, if his countrymen, who were, as he said, fourteen still alive, should come over; and least of all would it be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the christian colonies of *America*. So he told me, he thought it would be more adviseable, to let him and the two other dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow, and that we should wait another harvest, that we might

have a supply of corn for his countrymen when they should come; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another: You know, says he, the children of *Israel*, tho' they rejoiced at first at their being delivered out of *Egypt*, yet rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the wilderness.

His caution was so seasonable, and his advice so good, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as I was satisfy'd with his fidelity: so we fell to digging all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and in about a month's time, by the end of which it was seed time, we had gotten as much land cured and trimmed up as we sowed twenty-two bushels of barley on, and sixteen jars of rice, which was, in short, all the seed we had to spare; nor indeed did we leave ourselves barley sufficient for our own food for the six months that we had to expect our crop, that is to say, reckoning from the time we set our seed aside for sowing; for it is not to be supposed it is six months in the ground in that country.

Having now society enough, and our number being sufficient to put us out of fear of the savages, if they had come, unless their number had been very great, we went freely all over the island, where-ever we found occasion; and as here we had our escape or deliverance upon our thoughts, it was impossible, at least for me, to have the means of it out of mine: to this purpose, I marked out several trees, which I thought

fit for our work, and I set *Friday* and his father to cutting them down; and then I caused the *Spaniard*, to whom I imparted my thoughts on that affair, to oversee and direct their work: I shewed them with what indefatigable pains I had hewed a large tree into single planks, and I caused them to do the like till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near two feet broad, thirty-five feet long, and from two inches to four inches thick: What prodigious labour it took up, any one may imagine.

At the same time I contrived to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and to this purpose I made *Friday* and the *Spaniard* go out one day, and myself, with *Friday*, the next day, for we took our turns: And by this means we got about twenty young kids to breed up with the rest; for whenever we shot the dam, we saved the kids, and added them to our flock: but above all the season for curing the grapes coming on, I caused such a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the sun, that I believe, had we been at *Alicant*, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we should have filled sixty or eighty barrels; and these, with our bread, was a great part of our food, and very good living too, I assure you; for it is an exceeding nourishing food.

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order; it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island, but, however, it was enough to answer our end; for from twenty-two bushels of barley we brought in and threshed out above two hundred and twenty bushels, and the like in proportion of the rice, which was store enough for our food to the next har-

vest, tho' all the sixteen *Spaniards* had been on shore with me; or, if we had been ready for a voyage, it would very plentifully have victualled our ship, to have carried us to any part of the world, *that is to say*, of *America*. When we had thus housed and secured our magazine of corn, we fell to work to make more wicker-work; *viz.* great baskets in which we kept it; and the *Spaniard* was very handy and dextrous at this part, and often blamed me, that I did not make some things for defence, of this kind of work; but I saw no need of it: And now having a full supply of food for all the guests expected, I gave the *Spaniard* leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with these he left behind him there; I gave him a strict charge in writing not to bring any man with him, who would not first swear in the presence of himself and of the old savage, that he would no way injure, fight with, or attack the person he should find in the island, who was so kind to send for them in order to their deliverance; but that they would stand by and defend him against all such attempts; and where-ever they went, would be intirely under, and subjected to his command; and that this should be put in writing, and signed with their hands: How we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither pen or ink, that indeed, was a question which we never asked.

Under these instructions, the *Spaniard*, and the old savage (the father of *Friday*) went away in one of the *Canoes*, which they might be said to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as prisoners to be devoured by the savages.

I gave each of them a musquet with a firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball, charging them to be very good husbands of both, and not to use either of them but upon urgent occasion.

This was a chearful work, being the first measures used by me in view of my deliverance for now 27 years and some days; I gave them provisions of bread, and of dry'd grapes, sufficient for themselves for many days, and sufficient for their countrymen for about eight days time; and wishing them a good voyage, I let them go, agreeing with them about a signal they should hang out at their return, by which I should know them again, when they came back, at a distance, before they came on shore.

They went away with a fair gale on the day that the moon was at the full; by my account in the month of *October*; but as for the exact reckoning of days, after I had once lost it, I could never recover it again; nor had I kept even the number of years so punctually, as to be sure that I was right, tho' as it proved, when I afterwards examined my account, I found I had kept a true reckoning of years.

It was no less than eight days I waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident intervened, of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in history. I was fast asleep in my hutch one morning, when my man *Friday* came running in to me, and called aloud, *Master, Master, they are come, they are come.*

I jumped up, and, regardless of danger, I went out as soon as I could get my cloaths on, through my lit-

the grove, which (by the way) was by this time grown to be a very thick wood: I say, regardless of danger, I went without my arms, which was not my custom to do; but I was surprised, when turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat at about a league and an half's distance, standing in for the shore, with a *shoulder-of-mutton-sail*, as they call it, and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in: Also I observed presently, that they did not come from that side which the shore lay on, but from the southermost end of the island: Upon this I called *Friday* in, and bid him lie close, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we did not know yet whether they were friends or enemies.

In the next place, I went in to fetch my perspective-glass, to see what I could make of them; and having taken the ladder out I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I used to do when I was apprehensive of any thing, and to take my view the plainer without being discovered.

I had scarce set my foot on the hill, when my eye plainly discovered a ship lying at an anchor, at about two leagues and an half's distance from me, S. S. E. but not above a league and an half from the shore. By my observation it appeared plainly to be an *English* ship, and the boat appeared to be an *English* long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in, though the joy of seeing a ship, and one whom I had reason to believe was manned by my own countrymen, and consequently friends, was such as I cannot describe; but yet I had some secret doubts hung about me, I

cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me keep upon my guard. In the first place, it occurred to me to consider what business an *English* ship could have in that part of the world; since it was not the way to or from any part of the world where the *English* had any traffick; and I knew there had been no storms to drive them in there, as in distress; and that if they were *English* really, it was most probable, that they were here upon no good design; and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of danger, which sometimes are given him when he may think there is no possibility of its being real. That such hints and notices are given us, I believe few that have made any observations of things can deny; that they are certain discoveries of an invisible world, and a converse of spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency of them seems to be to warn us of danger, why should we not suppose they are from some friendly agent (whether supreme, or inferior and subordinate, is not the question) and that they are given for our good?

The present question abundantly confirms me in the justice of this reasoning; for had I not been made cautions by this secret admonition, come it from whence it will, I had been undone inevitably, and in a far worse condition than before, as you will see presently.

I had not kept myself long in this posture, but I saw the boat draw near the shore, as if they looked for a creek to thrust in at for the convenience of landing;

however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not see the little inlet where I formerly landed my rafts, but ran their boat on shore upon the beach, at about half a mile from me, which was very happy for me; for otherwise they would have landed just, as I may say, at my door, and would soon have beaten me out of my castle, and, perhaps, have plundered me of all I had.

When they were on shore, I was fully satisfy'd they were *Englishmen*, at least most of them; one or two I thought were *Dutch*, but it did not prove so. There were in all eleven men, whereof three of them I found were unarmed, and (as I thought) bound; and when the first four or five of them were jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat as prisoners: One of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of intreaty, affliction, and despair, even to a kind of extravagance; the other two, I could perceive lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned indeed, but not to such a degree as the first.

I was perfectly confounded at the sight, and knew not what the meaning of it should be; *Friday* called out to me in *English*, as well as he could, *O Master! You see English mans eat prisoners as well as savage mans.* Why, said I, *Friday* do you think they are going to eat them then? *Yes*, says *Friday*, *they will eat them.* No, no, said I, *Friday*: I am afraid they will murder them indeed; but you may be sure they will not eat them.

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was, but stood trembling with the horror of the

sight, expecting every moment when the three prisoners should be killed ; nay, once I saw one of the villains lift up his arm with a great cutlace (as the seamen call it) or sword, to strike one of the poor men ; and I expected to see him fall every moment, at which all the blood in my body seemed to run chill in my veins.

I wished heartily now for my *Spaniard*, and the savage that was gone with him ; or that I had any way to have come undiscovered within shot of them, that I might have rescued the three men ; for I saw no fire-arms they had among them ; but it fell out to my mind another way.

After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men by the insolent seamen, I observed the fellows rap scattering about the land, as if they wanted to see the country ; I observed also, that the three other men had liberty to go where they pleased ; but they sat down all three upon the ground very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

This put me in mind of the first time when I came on shore, and began to look about me ; how I gave myself over for lost, how wildly I looked round me, what dreadful apprehensions I had, and how I lodged in the tree all night for fear of being devoured by wild beasts.

As I knew nothing that night of the supply I was to receive by the providential driving of the ship nearer the land, by the storms and tide, by which I have since been so long nourished and supported ; so these three poor desolate men knew nothing how certain of deliverance and supply they were, how near it was to

them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of safety, at the same time they thought themselves lost, and their case desperate.

So little do we see before us in the world, and so much reason have we to depend chearfully upon the great maker of the world, that he does not leave his creatures so absolutely destitute, but that in the worst circumstances they have always something to be thankful for, and sometimes are nearer their deliverance than they imagine; nay, are even brought to their deliverance by the means by which they seem to be brought to their destruction.

It was just at the top of high-water when these people came on shore, and while partly they stood parlying with the prisoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of place they were in, they had carelessly staid till the tide was spent, and the water was ebb'd considerably away, leaving their boat a-ground.

They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drank a little too much brandy, fell asleep; however, one of them waking sooner than the other, and finding the boat too fast a-ground for him to stir it, halloo'd for the rest who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat: but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a softousy sand, almost like a quicksand.

In this condition, like true seamen, who are, perhaps, the least of all mankind, given to forethought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to

another (calling them off from the boat;) *Why, let her alone, Jack, can't ye? she'll float next tide:* By which I was fully confirmed in the main inquiry, of what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myself close, not once daring to stir out of my castle, any farther than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was, to think how well it was fortified: I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could be on float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be more at liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any.

In the mean time I fitted myself up for a battle, as before, tho' with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at first: I ordered *Friday* also, whom I had made an excellent marksman with his gun, to load himself with arms: I took myself two howling-pieces, and I gave him three musquets: My figure, indeed, was very fierce; I had my formidable goat-skin coat on, with the great cap I mentioned, a naked sword, two pistols in my belt, and a gun upon each shoulder.

It was my design, as I said above, not to have made any attempt till it was dark; but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that in short they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I thought, were all laid down to sleep: The three poor distressed men, too anxious for their condition to get any sleep, were however set down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and, as I thought, out sight of any of the rest.

Upon this I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition: immediately I march'd in the figure above, my man *Friday* at a good distance behind me, as formidable for his arms, as I, but not making quite so staring a *Spectre-like* figure as I did.

I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in *Spanish*, *What are you, Gentlemen?*

They started up at the noise, but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made. They made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in *English*: Gentlemen, said I, do not be surpris'd at me; perhaps you may have a friend near you, when you did not expect it: He must be sent directly from heaven then, *said one of them very gravely to me, and pulling off his hat at the same time*, for our condition is past the help of man. All help is from heaven, sir, said I. But can you put a stranger in the way how to help you? for you seem to me to be in some great distress: I saw you when you landed; and when you seemed to make application to the brutes that came with you, I saw one of them lift up his sword to kill you.

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling looking like one astonished, returned, *Am I talking to God or man? Is it a real man, or an angel?* Be in no fear about that, sir, *said I*: If God had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better cloathed, and armed after another manner, than you see me in; pray lay aside all your fears; I am a

man, an *Englishman*, and disposed to assist you, you see; I have one servant only; we have arms and ammunition: tell us freely, can we serve you?---What is your case?

Our case, said he, sir, is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near; but, in short, sir, I was commander of that ship, my men having mutinied against me, they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me, and at last have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it.

Where are those brutes, your enemies? said I; do you know where they are gone? *There they are, sir*, said he, pointing to a thicket of trees; *my heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all.*

Have they any fire-arms? said I: He answered, they had only two pieces, and one which they left in the boat. Well then, said I, leave the rest to me; I see they are all asleep; it is an easy thing to kill them all; but shall we rather take them prisoners? He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that it was scarce safe to shew any mercy to; but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty: I asked him, which they were? He told me, he could not at that distance describe them; but he would obey my orders in any thing I would direct: Well, said I, let us retreat out of their view or hearing, lest they awake, and we will resolve farther; so

they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them.

Look you, sir, said I, if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me? He anticipated my proposals, by telling me that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in every thing; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world soever I would send him; and the two other men said the same.

Well, said I, my conditions are but two: 1. That while you stay on this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms into your hands, you will upon all occasions give them up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine, upon this island, and in the mean time be governed by my orders.

2. That if the ship is or may be recovered, you will carry me and my man to England passage-free.

He gave me all the assurance that the invention and faith of a man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands, and besides would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occasions as long as he lived.

Well then, said I, here are three musquets for you, with powder and ball; tell me next what you think is proper to be done: He shewed all the testimony of his gratitude that he was able; but offered to be wholly guided by me: I told him, I thought it was hard venturing any thing, but the best method I could think of, was to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any were not killed at the first volley, and offered to

submit, we might save them, and so put it wholly upon God's providence to direct the shot.

He said very modestly, that he was loth to kill them if he could help it; but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship; and if they escaped, we should be undone still; for they would go on board, and bring the whole ship's company, and destroy us all: *well then*, said I, *necessity legitimates my advice; for it is the only way to save our lives.* However, seeing him still cautious of shedding blood, I told him, they should go themselves, and manage as they found convenient.

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet; I ask'd him, if either of them were the men, who, he had said, were the heads of the mutiny? He said *No.* Well then, said I, you may let them escape, and providence seems to have waken'd them on purpose to save themselves: now, said I, if the rest escape you, *it is your fault.*

Animated with this, he took the musquet I had given him in his hand, and pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each man a piece in his hand: the two men, who were with him, going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen, who was awake, turned about, and, seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then; for the moment he cried out, they fir'd, *I mean the two men*, the captain wisely reserving his own piece: they had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he started up upon his feet,

and called eagerly for help to the other; but the captain, stepping to him, told him it was too late to cry for help; he should call upon God to forgive his villainy; and with that word knock'd him down with the stock of his musquet; so that he never spoke more: there were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded: by this time I was come: and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begg'd for mercy: the captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would give him any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to *Jamaica*, from whence they came: they gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, and he was willing to believe them, and spare their lives, which I was not against; only I obliged him to keep them bound hand and foot while they were upon the island.

While this was doing, I sent *Friday* with the captain's mate to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sail, which they did: and by-and-by, three straggling men, that were (happily for them) parted from the rest, came back upon hearing the guns fired; and seeing their captain, who before was their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound also, and so our victory was complete.

It now remained, that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances: I began first, and told him my whole history, which he heard with an attention even to amazement, and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furnish'd with provi-

sions and ammunition ; and indeed, as my story is a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply ; but when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this communication was at an end, I carried him, and his two men, into my apartments, leading them in just where I came out, viz. at the top of the house, where I refresh'd them with such provisions as I had, and shewed them all the contrivances I had made, during my long inhabiting that place.

All I shew'd them, all I said to them, was perfectly amazing ; but, above all, the captain admir'd my fortification, and how perfectly I had concealed my retreat with a grove of trees, which, having now been planted near twenty years, and the trees growing much faster than in *England*, was become a little wood, and so thick, that it was unpassable in any part of it, but at that one side, where I had reserved my little winding passage into it: this I told him was my castle, and my residence ; but that I had a seat in the country, as most princes have, whither I could retreat upon occasion, and I would shew him that too another time ; but at present our business was to consider, how to recover the ship: He agreed with me as to that ; but told me, he was perfectly at a loss what measures to take, for that there were still six and twenty hands on board, who having entered into a cursed conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be harden'd in it now by desperation ; and would carry it on, knowing that if they were reduced, they should

be brought to the gallows as soon as they came to *England*, or to any of the *English* colonies; and that therefore there would be no attacking them with so small a number as we were.

I mused for some time upon what he had said, and found it was a very rational conclusion, and that therefore something was to be resolved on very speedily, as well to draw the men on board into some snare for their surprise, as to prevent their landing upon us, and destroying us: upon this it presently occur'd to me, that in a little while, the ship's crew, wondering what was become of their comrades, and of the boat, would certainly come on shore in their other boat to see for them; and that then perhaps they might come armed, and be too strong for us: this he allowed, was rational.

Upon this I told him, the first thing we had to do, was to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off; and, taking every thing out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim; accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left on board, out of her, and whatever else we found there, which was a bottle of brandy, and another of rum, a few biscuit-cakes, an horn of powder; and a great lump of sugar, in a piece of canvas; the sugar, was five or six pounds; all which was very welcome to me, especially the brandy and sugar, of which I had had none left for many years.

When we had carried all these things on shore (the oars, mast, sail, and rudder of the boat, were carried away before, as above) we knock'd a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

Indeed it was not much in my thoughts, that we could be capable to recover the ship; but my view was, that if they went away without the boat, I did not much question to make her fit again to carry us away to the *Leeward Islands*, and call upon our friends the *Spaniards* in my way, for I had them still in my thoughts.

While we were thus preparing our designs, and had first, by main strength, heav'd the boat up upon the beach, so high that the tide would not float her off at high-water mark; and, besides, had broken an hole in her bottom, too big to be quickly stopp'd, and were sat down musing what we should do; we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her ancient, as a signal for the boat to come on board; but no boat stirr'd; and they fir'd several times, making other signals for the boat.

At last, when all their signals and firings prov'd fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them (by the help of our glasses,) hoist another boat out, and row towards the shore; and we found, as they approach'd, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had fire arms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came; and a plain sight of the men, even of their faces; because the tide having set them a little to the east of the other boat, they rowed up under shore, to come to the same place, where the other had landed, and where the boat lay.

By this means, I say, we had a full view of them, and the captain knew the persons and characters of all the men in the boat; of whom he said that there were

three very honest fellows, who, he was sure, were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpower'd and frightened.

But that for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew; and were, no doubt, made desperate in their new enterprise; and terribly apprehensive he was, that they would be too powerful for us.

I smil'd at him, and told him, that men in our circumstances were past the operations of fear: that seeing almost every condition that could be, was better than that we were suppos'd to be in, we ought to expect, that the consequence, whether death or life, would be sure to be a deliverance; I ask'd him, what he thought of the circumstances of my life: and whether a deliverance were not worth venturing for. And, where, sir, said I, is your belief of my being preserv'd here on purpose to save your life, which elevated you a little while ago? For my part, said I, there seems to be but one thing amiss in all the prospect of it. *What's that?* says he. Why, said I, 'tis that, as you say, there are three or four honest fellows among them which should be spar'd; had they been all of the wicked part of the crew. I should have thought God's providence had singled them out to deliver them into your hands; for depend upon it, every man of them that comes ashore, are our own, and shall die or live, as they behave to us.

As I spoke this with a rais'd voice, and chearful countenance, I found it greatly encourag'd him; so we set vigorously to our business: we had, upon the first ap-

pearance of the boat's coming from the ship, consider'd of separating our prisoners, and had indeed secur'd them effectually.

Two of them, of whom the captain was less assur'd than ordinary, I sent with *Friday*, and one of the three (deliver'd men) to my cave, where they were remote enough. and out of danger of being heard or discover'd, or of finding their way out of the woods, if they could have deliver'd themselves: here they left 'em bound, but gave 'em provisions, and promis'd 'em, if they continu'd there quietly, to give 'em their liberty in a day or two; but that if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy. They promis'd faithfully to bear their confinement with patience, and were very thankful, that they had such good usage as to have provisions, and a light left 'em; for *Friday* gave 'em candles (such as we made ourselves) for their comfort; and they did not know but that he stood centinel over 'em at the entrance.

The other prisoners had better usage; two of them were kept pinion'd indeed, because the captain was not free to trust them; but the other two were taken into my service upon their captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us; so, with them and the three honest men. we were seven men well arm'd; and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were a coming, considering that the captain had said, there were three or four honest men among them also.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came all on shore, haling the boat up after them, which I

was glad to see; for I was afraid they would rather have left the boat at an anchor, some distance from the shore, with some hands in her to guard her; and so we should not be able to seize the boat.

Being on shore, the first thing they did. they ran all to the other boat; and it was easy to see they were under a great surprise, to find her stripp'd, as above, of all that was in her, and a great hole in her bottom.

After they had mus'd a while upon this, they set up two or three great shouts, hallooing with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear; but all was to no purpose; then they came all close in a ring, and fir'd a volley of their small arms, which indeed we heard, and the echoes made the woods ring; but it was all one; those in the cave, we were sure, could not hear; and those in our keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durst give no answer to them.

They were so astonish'd at the surprise of this, that, as they told us afterwards, they resolv'd to go all on board again to their ship, and let them know there, that the men were all murder'd, and the long-boat stav'd; accordingly, they immediately launch'd their boat again and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly amaz'd, and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ship again, and set sail, giving their comrades for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes we should have recover'd; but he was quickly as much frighted the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceiv'd them all coming on shore again; but with this new measure in their conduct, which, it seems,

they consulted together upon; *viz.* to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go on shore, and go up into the country to look for their fellows.

This was a great disappointment to us; for now we were at a loss what to do; for our seizing those 7 men on shore would be no advantage to us if we let the boat escape, because they would then row away to the ship; and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh, and set sail, and so our recovering the ship would be lost.

However we had no remedy but to wait and see what the issue of things might present: the seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat, put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait for them; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat.

Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill, under which my habitation lay; and we could see them plainly, tho' they could not perceive us: we could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fir'd at them; or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad.

But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way in the valley and woods, which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and halloo'd till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider of it: had they thought fit to have gone to sleep there, as the

other party of them had done, they had done the job for us; but they were too full of apprehensions of danger, to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear, neither.

The captain made a very just proposal to me upon this consultation of theirs; *viz.* That perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we should all fall upon them, just at the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed; I liked the proposal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them, before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we lay still a long time, very irresolute what course to take, at length I told them, there would be nothing to be done in my opinion till night; and then, if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might find a way to get between them and the shore, and so might use some stratagem with them in the boat, to get them on shore.

We waited a great while, though very impatient, for their removing. and were very uneasy; when, after long consultations, we saw them start all up, and march down towards the sea: it seems, they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give their companions over for lost, and so go on with their intended voyage with the ship.

As soon as I perceived them go towards the shore, I

imagined it to be as it really was; that they had given over their search, and were for going back again; and the captain, as soon as I told him my thoughts, was ready to sink at the apprehensions of it; but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a tittle.

I ordered *Friday*, and the captain's mate, to go over the little creek westward, towards the place where the savages came on shore when *Friday* was rescued; and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile's distance, I bade them halloo as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them; that as soon as ever they heard the seamen answer them, they should return in again, and then keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others halloo'd, to draw them as far into the island, and among the woods, as possible, and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed.

They were just going into the boat, when *Friday* and the mate halloo'd and they presently heard them, and answering, run along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up, and set them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone up a good way into the creek, and as it were in an harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for, and immediately leaving *Friday* and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and, crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware, one of them lying on shore, and the other being in the boat; the fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and going to start up, the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; besides, this was, it seems, one of the three, who were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded, not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us.

In the mean time *Friday*, and the captain's mate, so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark; and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after *Friday* came back to me, before they came back to their boat; and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along, and could

also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not being able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but 'tis impossible to express their confusion, when they found the boat fast a-ground in the creek the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone; we could hear them call to one another in a most lamentable manner, telling one another they were gotten into an enchanted island; that either there were inhabitants in it, and they should all be murdered; or else there were devils or spirits in it, and they should be all carried away and devoured.

They halloo'd again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times, but no answer: After some time, we could see them, by the little light there was, run about wringing their hands, like men in despair; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come ashore, and walk about again, and so the same thing over again.

My men would fain have had me given them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark; but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could; and especially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our men, knowing the other were very well armed: I resolved to wait to see if they did not separate; and therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer; and ordered *Friday* and the captain, to creep upon their hands and feet as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as

near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, but that the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shewn himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of their crew; the captain was so eager, at having the principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him; for they only heard his tongue before; But when they came nearer, the captain and *Friday*, starting up on their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain, was killed upon the spot; the next man was shot into the body, and fell just by him, tho' he did not die till an hour or two after; and the third run for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men; viz. myself generalissimo; *Friday*, my lieutenant-general; the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, whom he had trusted with arms.

We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number, and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms; which fell out just as we desired: For indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate; so he calls out, as loud as he could, to one of them, *Tom Smith, Tom Smith.* *Tom Smith* answered immediately, *Who's that?* Robinson? for it

seems he knew his voice. T'other answered, *Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms, and yield, or you are all dead men this moment.*

Who must we yield to? Where are they? says Smith again. *Here they are,* says he; here is our captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting you this two hours; the boatswain is killed; *Will Frye* is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost.

Will they give us quarter then? says *Tom Smith*; and we will yield. *I'll go and ask, if you promise to yield,* says *Robinson*. So he asked the captain, and the captain himself then calls out; You, *Smith*, you know my voice, if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives, all but *Will Atkins*.

Upon this *Will Atkins* cried out, *for God's sake, captain, give me quarter: What have I done? they have been all as bad as I;* which by the way was not true, neither; for it seems, this *Will Atkins* was the first man that laid hold of the captain, when they first mutiny'd, and used him barbarously in tying his hands, and giving him injurious language: However, the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the governor's mercy, by which he meant me; for they all called me governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man that had parley'd with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of fifty men, which particularly with those three, were all but eight, came up and seized upon them all, and upon their boat, only that

I kept myself, and one more, out of sight, for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and to think of seizing the ship; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with them upon the villainy of their practices with him, and at length, upon the farther wickedness of their design; and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives: As for that, he told them they were none of his prisoners, but the commander's of the island; that they thought they had set him on shore in a barren uninhabited island; but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an *Englishman*; that he might hang them all there if he pleased; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to *England* to be dealt with there, as justice required, except *Atkins*, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death; for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though this was all a fiction of his own, yet it had its desired effect: *Atkins* fell upon his knees to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life; and all the rest begged of him for God's sake, that they might not be sent to *England*.

It now occurred to me, that the time of our deliverance was come and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows in, to be hearty in getting possession of the ship; so I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they

had, and called the captain to me; when I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, *Captain, the commander calls for you*; and presently the captain replied, *Tell his excellency I am just a coming*. This more perfectly amused them; and they all believed, that the commander was just by with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked of wonderfully well, and resolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But, in order to execute it with more art, and to be secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take *Atkins*, and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay: This was committed to *Friday*, and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave, as to a prison; and it was indeed a dismal place, especially to men in their condition.

The other I ordered to my bower, as I called it, of which I have given a full description; and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was secure enough, considering they were upon their behaviour.

To these in the morning I sent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them; in a word, to try them, and tell me, whether he thought they might be trusted or no, to go on board, and surprise the ship: He talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to; and that tho' the governor had given them quarter for their lives, as to

the present action. yet that if they were sent to *England*, they would all be hang'd in chains, to be sure; but that if they would join in such an attempt, as to recover the ship, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition; they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promis'd with the deepest imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last drop, and that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world; that they would own him for a father to them as long as they liv'd.

Well, says the captain, I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it: so he brought me an account of the temper he found them in; and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again, and choose out five of them, and tell them, that they should see that they did not want men; but he would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle (*my cave*) as hostages, for the fidelity of those five; and that if they prov'd unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hang'd in chains alive upon the shore.

This look'd severe, and convinc'd them, that the governor was in earnest; however, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the business of

the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty.

Our strength was now thus order'd for the expedition: 1. The captain, his mate, and passenger. 2. Then the two prisoners of the first gang, to whom, having their characters from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms. 3. The other two whom I kept till now in my bower pinion'd; but upon the captain's motion, had now releas'd. 4. These five releas'd at last; so that they were twelve in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I ask'd the captain, if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship: for, as for me, and my man *Friday*, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind; and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I resolv'd to keep them fast; but *Friday* went twice a day to them, to supply them with necessaries; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where *Friday* was to take it.

When I shew'd myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them, I was the person the governor had order'd to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure they should not stir any where but by my direction; that if they did, they should be fetch'd into the castle, and be laid in irons; so that as we never suffer'd them to see me as governor, so I now appear'd as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them: he made his passenger captain of one, with four other men; and himself, and his mate, and five more, went in the other: and they contriv'd their business very well; for they came up to the ship about midnight: as soon as they came within call of the ship, he made *Robinson* hail them, and tell them he had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had found them, and the like; holding them in a chat, till they came to the ship's side; when the captain and the mate, entering first with their arms, immediately knock'd down the second mate and carpenter with the but-end of their musquets, being very faithfully seconded by their men; they secur'd all the rest that were upon the main and quarter-decks, and began to fasten the hatches to keep them down who were below, when the other boat, and their men, entering at the fore-chains, secur'd the fore-castle of the ship, and the skuttle which went down into the cook-room, making three men they found there prisoners.

When this was done, and all safe upon the deck, the captain order'd the mate with three men to break into the round-house, where the new rebel captain lay, and, having taken the alarm, was gotten up, and with two men and a boy had gotten fire-arms in their hands; and when the mate with a crow split open the door, the new captain and his men fir'd boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musquet-ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but kill'd nobody.

The mate, calling for help, rush'd, however, into

the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, the bullet entering at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears; so that he never spoke a word; upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secur'd, the captain order'd seven guns to be fir'd, which was the signal agreed upon with me, to give me notice of his success; which you may be sure I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it, till near two of the clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surpris'd with the noise of a gun; and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of governor, governor; and presently I knew the captain's voice, when climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embrac'd me in his arms; *My dear friend and deliverer, says he, there's your ship, for she is all yours, and so are we, and all that belong to her.* I cast my eyes to the ship, and there she rode within little more than half a mile of the shore; for they had weigh'd her anchor as soon as they were masters of her; and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of a little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I first landed my rafts, and so landed just at my door.

I was, at first, ready to sink down with the surprise: for I saw my deliverance indeed visibly put into my

hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me away whither I pleased to go: at first, for some time, I was not able to answer one word; but as he had taken me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground.

He perceiv'd the surprise, and immediately pull'd a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial, which he had brought on purpose for me: after I drank it, I sat down upon the ground, and though it brought me to myself, yet it was a good while before I could speak a word to him.

All this while the poor man was in as great an ecstasy as I, only not under any surprise, as I was; and he said a thousand kind tender things to me, to compose and bring me to myself; but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion; at last it broke into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my speech.

Then I took my turn and embrac'd him as my deliverer; and we rejoic'd together: I told him I look'd upon him as a man sent from heaven to deliver me, and that the whole transaction seem'd to be a chain of wonders; that such things as these were the testimonies we had of a secret hand of providence governing the world, and an evidence, that the eyes of an infinite power could search into the remotest corner of the world, and send help to the miserable whenever he pleas'd.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to heaven; and what heart could forbear to bless him, who had not only in a miraculous manner provided for

one in such a wilderness, and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledg'd to proceed?

When we had talk'd awhile, the captain told me, he had brought me some little refreshments, such as the ship afforded, and such as the wretches, who had been so long his masters, had not plunder'd him of: upon this he call'd aloud to the boat, and bid his men bring the things ashore that were for the governor; and indeed it was a present, as if I had been one, not that was to be carried along with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the island still, and they were to go without me.

First, he had brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial waters, six large bottles of *Madeira* wine; the bottles held two quarts apiece; two pounds of excellent good tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship's beef, and six pieces of the pork, with a bag of peas, and about an hundred weight of biscuit.

He brought me also a box of sugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime-juice, and abundance of other things: but besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six clean new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, an hat, and one pair of stockings, and a very good suit of cloaths of his own, which had been worn but very little: in a word, he cloath'd me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumstances; but never was any thing in the world of that kind so unpleasant,

awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such cloaths at their first putting on.

After these ceremonies past, and after all his good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to consult what was to be done with the prisoners we had; for it was worth considering whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the last degree; and the captain said he knew they were such rogues, that there was no obliging them, and if he did carry them away, it must be in irons, as malefactors to be deliver'd over to justice at the first *English* colony he could come at; and I found that the captain himself was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that if he desired it, I durst undertake to bring the two men he spoke of, to make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island: *I should be very glad of that, says the captain, with all my heart.*

Well, *said I*, I will send for them, and talk with them for you: so I caus'd *Friday* and the two hostages, for they were now discharg'd, their comrades having perform'd their promise; I say, I caus'd them to go to the cave, and bring up the five men, pinion'd as they were to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After some time, I came thither dress'd in my new habit, and now I was call'd governor again. Being all mer, and the captain with me, I caus'd the men to be brought before me, and I told them, I had had a full account of their villainous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ship, and were preparing to commit farther robberies; but that pro-

vidence had ensnar'd them in their own ways, and that they were fallen into the pit which they had digg'd for others.

I let them know, that by my direction the ship had been seiz'd, that she lay now in the road, and they might see by and by, that their new captain had receiv'd the reward of his villainy; for that they might see him hanging at the yard-arm.

That as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say, why I should not execute them as pirates taken in the fact, as by my commission they could not doubt I had authority to do.

One of them answer'd in the name of the rest, that they had nothing to say but this, that when they were taken, the captain promis'd them their lives, and they humbly implor'd my mercy: but I told them I knew not what mercy to shew them; for, as for myself, I had resolv'd to quit the island with all my men, and had taken passage with the captain to go for *England*: and as for the captain, he could not carry them to *England*, other than as prisoners in irons to be try'd for mutiny, and running away with the ship; the consequence of which, they must needs know, would be the gallows; so that I could not tell which was best for them, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the island, if they desir'd that, I did not care, as I had liberty to leave it: I had some inclination to give them their lives, if they thought they could shift on shore. They seem'd very thankful for it; said they would much rather venture to stay there, than to be carry'd to *England* to be hang'd; so I left it on that issue.

However, the captain seem'd to make some difficul-

ty of it, as if he durst not leave them there: Upon this I seemed a little angry with the captain, and told him, that they were my prisoners, not his; and that seeing I had offered them so much favour, I would be as good as my word; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at liberty as I found them; and if he did not like that, he might take them again, if he could catch them.

Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods, to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some fire-arms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this, I prepared to go on board the ship; but told the captain, that I would stay that night to prepare my things, and desired him to go on board in the mean time, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore the next day for me; ordering him in the mean time, to cause the new captain who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm, that these men might see him.

When the captian was gone, I sent for the men up to me to my apartment, and entered seriously into discourse with them of their circumstances: I told them, I thought they had made a right choice; that if the captain carried them away, they would certainly be hanged: I shewed'em their captain hanging at the yard-arm of the ship, and told them they had nothing less to expect.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I told them, I would let them into the story of

my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them: accordingly I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my coming to it; shewed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes; and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy: I told them the story also of the sixteen *Spaniards* that were to be expected; for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I left them my fire-arms; *viz.* five musquets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords: I had about a barrel of powder left; for after the first year or two I used but little, and wasted none: I gave them a description of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, to make both butter and cheese.

In a word, I gave them every part of my own story; and I told them, I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder more, and some garden seed, which I told them I would have been very glad of; also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ship: We prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night: The next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and, making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for God's sake, for they should be murdered, and begged the captain to take them on board, tho' he hanged them immediately:

Upon this, the captain pretended to have no power without me; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were some time after soundly whipped and pickled; after which they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, I went with the boat on shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men, to which the captain, at my intercession, caused their chests and cloaths to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for: I also encouraged them, by telling them, that if it lay in my way to send any vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took leave of this island, I carried on board for reliques the great goat's-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and one of my parrots; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long uselefs that it was grown rusty, or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled; and also the money I found in the wreck of the *Spanish* ship

And thus I left the island the nineteenth of *December*, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months, and nineteen days; being delivered from the second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape in the *Barco-Longo*, from among the *Moors* of *Sallee*.

In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in *England* the eleventh of *June*, in the year 1687, having been thirty-and-five years absent.

When I came to *England* I was a perfect stranger

to all the world, as if I had never been known there: my benefactor, and faithful steward, whom I had left in trust with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world, was become a widow the second time, and very low in the world. I made her easy as to what she owed me, assuring her, I would give her no trouble; but on the contrary, in gratitude to her former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her as my little stock would afford, which at that time would indeed allow me to do but little for her; but I assured her, I would never forget her former kindness to me; nor did I forget her, when I had sufficient to help her; as shall be observed in its place.

I went down afterwards into *London*; but my father was dead, and my mother, and all the family extinct; except that I found two sisters, and two of the children of one of my brothers; And as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me, so that, in a word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me; and that little money I had, would not do so much for me, as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship, whom I had so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given a very handsome account to the owners, of the manner how I had saved the lives of the men, and the ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very handsome compliment upon that subject, and a present of almost two hundred pounds sterling.

But after making several reflexions upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go towards settling me in the world, I resolved to go to *Lisbon*, and see if I might not come by some information of the state of my plantation in the *Brafsils*, and what was become of my partner, who, I had reason to suppose, had some years now given me over for dead.

With this view I took shipping for *Lisbon*, where I arrived in *April* following; my man *Friday* accompanying me very honestly in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant upon all occasions.

When I came to *Lisbon*, I found out by inquiry, and to my particular satisfaction, my old friend the captain of the ship who first took me up at sea, off the shore of *Africa*: He was now grown old, and had left off the sea, having put his son, who was far from a young man, into his ship; and who still used the *Brazil* trade. The old man did not know me, and, indeed, I hardly knew him; but I soon brought myself to his remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After some passionate expressions of our old acquaintance, I inquired, you may be sure, after my plantation, and my partner: The old man told me, he had not been in the *Brafsils* for about nine years: but that he could assure me, that when he came away, my partner was living; but the trustees, whom I had joined with him to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that, however, he believed that I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that, upon the general belief of my being cast away and drowned my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation, to

the procurator fiscal; who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one third to the king, and two thirds to the monastery of *St. Augustin*, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the *Indians* to the catholic faith; but that if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be restored; only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored; but he assured me, that the steward of the king's revenue (from lands) and the provedore, or steward of the monastery, had taken great care all along, that the incumbent, that is to say, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they received duly my moiety.

I asked him, if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation: And whether he thought it might be worth looking after: Or whether, on my going thither, I should meet with no obstruction to my possessing my just right in the moiety.

He told me, he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved; but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceeding rich upon the enjoying but one half of it; and that, to the best of his remembrance he had heard, that the king's third of my part, which was, it seems, granted away to some other monastery, or religious house, amounted to above two hundred moidores a year; that, as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question to be made of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also inrolled in the register of the country. Also he told me, that the survivors of my two trustees were very fair honest people, and

very wealthy, and he believed I would not only have their assistance for putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands, for my account, being the produce of the farm, while their fathers held the trust, and before it was given up, as above, which, as he remembered, was for about twelve years.

I shewed myself a little concerned and uneasy at this account, and inquired of the old captain, how it came to pass, that the trustees should thus dispose of my effects, when he knew, that I had made my will, and had made him, the *Portuguese* captain, my universal heir, &c.

He told me, that was true; but that, as there was no proof of my being dead, he could not act as executor, until some certain account should come of my death; and that, besides, he was not willing to intermeddle with a thing so remote: That it was true, he had registered my will, and put in his claim; and could he have given any account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by procuration, and taken proffession of the *Ingenio* (so they called the sugar-house) and had given his son, who was now at the *Brasil*, orders to do it.

But, says the old man, I have one piece of news to tell you, which perhaps may not be so acceptable to you as the rest; and that is, that believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account to me in your name, for six or eight of the first years of profits, which I received; but there being at that time, says he, great disbursements for increasing the works, building an *In-*

genio, and buying slaves, it did not amount to near so much as afterwards it produced: However, says the old man, I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how I have disposed of it.

After a few days farther conference with this antient friend, he brought me an account of the six first years income of my plantation, signed by my partner, and the merchant's trustees, being always delivered in goods; *viz.* tobacco in roll, and sugar in chests, besides rum, melasses, &c. which is the consequence of a sugar-work; and I found by this account, that every year the income considerably increased; But, as above, the disbursement being large, the sum at first was small: However, the old man let me see, that he was debtor to me 470 moidores of gold, besides 60 chests of sugar, and 15 double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship, he having been shipwrecked coming home to *Lisbon*, about eleven years after my leaving the place.

The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses and buy him a share in a new ship: However, my old friend, says he, you shall not want a supply in your necessity; and as soon as my son returns, you shall be fully satisfy'd.

Upon this he pulls out an old pouch, and gives me two hundred *Portugal* moidores in gold; and giving me the writings of his title to the ship which his son was gone to the *Brazils* in, of which he was a quarter-part owner, and his son another, he puts them both in my hands for security of the rest.

I was too much mov'd with the honesty and kindness of the poor man, to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me, how he had taken me up at sea, and how generously he had used me on all occasions, and particularly, how sincere a friend he was now to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he said to me: therefore first I ask'd him if his circumstances admitted him to spare so much money at that time, and if it would not streighten him? He told me he could not say but it might streighten him a little; but, however, it was my money, and I might want it more than he.

Every thing the good man said was full of affection, and I could hardly refrain from tears while he spoke. In short, I took one hundred of the moidores, and call'd for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them; then I return'd him the rest, and told him, if ever I had possession of the plantation, I would return the other to him also, as indeed I afterwards did; and that, as to the bill of sale of his part in his son's ship, I would not take it by any means; but that if I wanted the money, I found he was honest enough to pay me; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me reason to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was pass'd, the old man began to ask me, if he should put me in a method to make my claim to my plantation. I told him, I thought to go over to it myself: he said I might do so if I pleas'd; but that if I did not, there were ways enough to secure my right, and immediately to appropriate the profits to my use; and as there were ships in the river of *Lisbon*, just ready to go away to *Brasil*, he made me enter my name

in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming upon oath that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting the said plantation at first.

This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affix'd, he directed me to send it with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place; and then propos'd my staying with him till an account came of the return.

Never any thing was more honourable than the proceedings upon this procuration; for in less than seven months I receiv'd a large packet from the survivors of my trustees, the merchants, for whose account I went to sea, in which were the following particular letters and papers inclosed.

First, There was the account current of the produce of my farm, or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanc'd with my old *Portugal* captain, being for six years; the balance appear'd to be 1174 moidores in my favour.

Secondly, There was the account of four years more while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claim'd the administration, as being the effects of a person not to be found, which they call *Civil death*; and the balance of this, the value of the plantation increasing, amounted to cruifadoes, which made 3241 moidores.

Thirdly, There was the prior of the *Augustines* account, who had receiv'd the profits for above fourteen years; but not being able to account for what was dispos'd to the hospital, very honestly declar'd he had 872 moidores not distributed, which he acknowledg'd to

my account: as to the king's part, that refunded nothing.

There was also a letter of my partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive; giving me an account how the estate was improv'd. and what it produc'd a year, with a particular of the number of squares or acres that it contain'd; how planted, how many slaves there were upon it; and making two-and-twenty crosses for blessings, told me, he had said so many *Ave Maria's* to thank the blessed virgin that I was alive; inviting me very passionately to come over and take possession of my own, and in the mean time to give him orders to whom he should deliver my effects, if I did not come myself; concluding with an hearty tender of his friendship, and that of his family; and sent me, as a present, seven fine leopards skins, which he had, it seems, receiv'd from *Africa* by some other ship which he had sent thither, and who, it seems, had made a better voyage than I: he sent me also five chests of excellent sweetmeats, and an hundred pieces of gold uncoin'd, not quite so large as moidores.

By the same fleet my two merchant-trustees shipp'd me 1200 chests of sugar, 800 rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I might well say now, indeed, that the latter end of *Job* was better than the beginning: it is impossible to express the flutterings of my very heart, when I look'd over these letters, and especially when I found all my wealth about me; for as the *Brasil* ships come all in fleets, the same ships which brought my letters brought my goods; and the effects were safe in the *Tagus* before the letter came to my hand: in a word, I turn'd

pale; and grew sick ; and had not the old man run and fetch'd me a cordial, I believe the sudden surprize of joy had overset nature, and I had dy'd upon the spot.

Nay, after that, I continu'd very ill, and was so some hours, till a phyician being sent for, and something of the real cause of my illness being known, he order'd me to be let blood; after which I had relief, and grew well; but I verily believe, if I had not been eas'd by the vent given in that manner to the spirits, I should have dy'd.

I was now master, all on a sudden, of above 50,000 *l.* sterling in money, and had an estate, as I might well call it, in the *Brasils*, of above a thousand pounds a year, as sure as an estate of lands in *England*; and, in a word, I was in a condition which I scarce knew how to understand, or how to compose myself for the enjoyment of.

The first thing I did, was to recompense my original benefactor, my good old captain, who had been first charitable to me in my distress, kind to me in the beginning, and honest to me at the end: I shew'd him all that was sent me; I told him, that, next to the providence of heaven, which disposes all things, it was owing to him; and that it now lay on me to reward him, which I would do an hundredfold: so I first return'd to him the hundred moidores I had receiv'd of him; then I sent for a notary, and caus'd him to draw up a general release or discharge for the 470 moidores, which he had acknowledg'd he owed me, in the fullest and firmest manner possible; after which, I caus'd a procuration to be drawn empowering him to be my receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and

appointing my partner to account to him, and make the returns by the usual fleets to him in my name; and a clause in the end, being a grant of 100 moidores a year to him during his life, out of the effects; and 50 moidores a year to his son after him, for his life: and thus I requited my old man.

I was now to consider which way to steer my course next, and what to do with the estate that providence had thus put into my hands; and, indeed, I had more care upon my head now, than I had in my silent state of life in the island, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted; whereas I had now a great charge upon me, and my business was how to secure it; I had never a cave to hide my money in, or a place where it might lie without lock or key, till it grew mouldy and tarnish'd before any body would meddle with it: on the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or whom to trust with it; my old patron the captain, indeed was honest, and that was the only refuge I had.

In the next place, my interest in the *Brasils* seem'd to summon me thither; but now I could not tell how to think of going thither till I had settled my affairs, and left my effects in some safe hands behind me: at first I thought of my old friend the widow, who I knew was honest, and would be just to me; but then she was in years, and but poor, and, for aught I knew, might be in debt; so that, in a word, I had no way but to go back to *England* myself, and take my effects with me.

I was some months, however, before I resolv'd upon this; and therefore as I had rewarded the old captain

fully, and to satisfaction, who had been my former benefactor, so I began to think of my poor widow whose husband had been my first benefactor, and she, while it was in her power, my faithful steward and instructor: so the first thing I did. I got a merchant in *Lisbon* to write to his correspondent in *London*, not only to pay a bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in money an hundred pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her, she should, if I liv'd, have a farther supply: at the same time I sent my two sisters in the country, each of them, an hundred pounds, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumstances; one having been married and left a widow, and the other having an husband not so kind to her as he should be.

But among all my relations or acquaintances I could not yet pitch upon one, to whom I durst commit the gross of my stock, that I might go away to the *Brafsils*, and leave things safe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I had once a mind to have gone to the *Brafsils*, and have settled myself there; for I was, as it were, naturalized to the place; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion, which insensibly drew me back, of which I shall say more presently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going thither for the present; and as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country, all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having profess'd my-

self a *Papist*, and thought it might not be the best religion to die in.

But, as I have said, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the *Brasils*, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my effects behind me; so I resolv'd at last to go to *England* with them, where, if I arriv'd, I concluded I should make some acquaintance, or find some relations, that would be faithful to me; and accordingly I prepar'd to go for *England* with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home, I first (the *Brasil* fleet being just going away) resolv'd to give answers suitable to the just and faithful account of things I had from thence; and first to the prior of *St. Augustine* I wrote a letter full of thanks for his just dealings, and the offer of the 872 moidores, which was undispos'd of, which I desir'd might be given, 500 to the monastery, and 372 to the poor, as the prior should direct, desiring the good *Padrès* prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a letter of thanks to my two trustees, with all the acknowledgment that so much justice and honesty call'd for; as for sending them any present, they were far above having any occasion of it.

Lastly, I wrote to my partner, acknowledging his industry in the improving the plantation, and his integrity in increasing the stock of the works, giving him instructions for his future government of my part, according to the powers I had lett with my old patron, to whom I desir'd him to send whatever became due to me, till he should hear from me more particularly; assuring him, that it was my intention, not only to come

to him, but to settle myself there for the remainder of my life: to this I added a very handsome present of some *Italian* silks for his wife and two daughters, for such the captain's son inform'd me he had; with two pieces of fine *English* broad-cloth, the best I could get in *Lisbon*, five pieces of black bays, and some *Flanders* lace of a good value.

Having thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turn'd all my effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was, which way to go to *England*: I had been accusom'd enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to *England* by sea at that time; and though I could give no reason for it, yet the difficulty increas'd upon me so much, that though I had once shipp'd my baggage in order to go, yet I alter'd my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true, I had been very unfortunate by sea, and this might be one of the reasons; but let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts in cases of such moment: two of the ships which I had singled out to go in, I mean, more particularly singled out than any other, that is to say, so as in one of them to put my things on board, and in the other to have agreed with the captain; I say, two of these ships miscarry'd; viz. One was taken by the *Algerines*, and the other was cast away on the *Start* near *Torbay*, and all the people drowned except three; so that in either of those vessels I had been made miserable, and in which most, it was hard to say.

Having been thus harass'd in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated every thing, press'd me earnestly not to go to sea; but either to go by land to

the *Groyne*, and cross over the bay of *Biscay* or *Rochelle*, from whence it was but an easy and safe journey by land to *Paris*, and so to *Calais* and *Dover*; or to go up to *Madrid*, and so all the way by land through *France*.

In a word, I was so prepossess'd against my going by sea at all, except from *Calais* to *Dover*, that I resolv'd to travel all the way by land; which, as I was not in haste, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleasanter way; and to make it more so, my old captain brought an *English* gentleman, the son of a merchant in *Lisbon*, who was willing to travel with me: after which we pick'd up two who were *English* and merchants also, and two young *Portuguese* gentlemen, the last going to *Paris* only; so that we were in all six of us, and five servants, the two merchants, and the two *Portuguese*, contenting themselves with one servant between two, to save the charge; and as for me, I got an *English* sailor to travel with me as a servant besides my man *Friday*, who was too much a stranger to be capable of supplying the place of a servant upon the road.

In this manner I set out from *Lisbon*: and our company being all very well mounted and arm'd, we made a little troop, whereof they did me the honour to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and, indeed, was the original of the whole journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so shall I trouble you with none of my land journal: but some adventures that happen'd to us in this tedious and difficult journey, I must not omit.

When we came to *Madrid*, we, being all of us strang-

ers to *Spain*, were willing to stay some time to see the court of *Spain*, and to see what was worth observing; but it being the latter part of the summer, we hasten'd away, and set out from *Madrid* about the middle of *October*: but when we came to the edge of *Navarre*, we were alarm'd at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow was fallen on the *French* side of the mountains, that several travellers were oblig'd to come back to *Pampeluna*, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to *Pampeluna* itself, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always us'd to an hot climate, and indeed to countries where we could scarce bear any cloaths on, the cold was unsufferable; nor, indeed, was it more painful than it was surprising, to come but ten days before out of the *old Castile*, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot; and immediately to feel a wind from the *Pyrenean* mountains, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger benumbing and perishing of our fingers and toes, was very strange.

Poor *Friday* was really frightened when he saw the mountains all cover'd with snow, and felt cold weather which he had never seen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, after we came to *Pampeluna*, it continu'd snowing with so much violence, and so long, that the people said, winter was come before its time, and the roads which were difficult before, were now quite impassable; in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as is the case in northern countries, there was no going without being in danger of being bury'd a-

live every step: we staid no less than twenty days at *Pampeluna*; when (seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter all over *Europe* that had been known in many years) I propos'd that we should all go away to *Fontarabia*, and there take shipping for *Bordeaux*, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four *French* gentlemen, who, having been stopp'd on the *French* side of the passes, as we were on the *Spanish*, had found out a guide, who, traversing the country near the head of *Languedoc*, had brought them over the mountains by such ways, that they were not much incommoded with the snow; and where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us, he would undertake to carry us the same way, with no hazard from the snow, provided we were arm'd sufficiently to protect us from wild beasts; for, he said, upon these great snows, it was frequent for some wolves to shew themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food, the ground being cover'd with snow: we told him we were well enough prepar'd for such creatures as they were, if he would insure us from a kind of two legged wolves, which we were told we were in most danger from, especially on the *French* side of the mountains

He satisfy'd us there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go: so we readily agreed to follow him; as did also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some *French*, some *Spanish*, who, as I said,

had attempted to go, and were oblig'd to come back again.

Accordingly we all set out from *Pampeluna*, with our guide, on the fifteenth of *November*; and indeed, I was surpris'd, when, instead of going forward, he came directly back with us, on the same road that we came from *Madrid*, above twenty miles; when having pass'd two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but on a sudden, turning to the left, he approach'd the mountains another way; and tho' it is true, the hills and the precipices look'd dreadful, yet he made so many tours, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, we insensibly pass'd the height of the mountains, without being much incumber'd with the snow; and all on a sudden he shew'd us the pleasant fruitful provinces of *Languedoc* and *Gascoigne*, all green and flourishing; tho' indeed they were at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass yet.

We were a little uneasy however, when we found it snow'd one whole day, and a night, so fast, that we could not travel; but he bid us be easy, we should soon be past it all: We found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more north than before, and so depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being something before us, and not just in sight, our rush'd three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, out of an hollow way, adjoining to a thick wood; two of the wolves flew upon the guide, and had he been half a mile before us, he had been devour'd indeed, be-

fore we could have help'd him: one of them fasten'd upon his horse, and the other attack'd the man with that violence, that he had no time, or not presence of mind enough, to draw his pistol, but halloo'd and cry'd out to us most lustily; my man *Friday* being next to me, I bid him ride up, and see what was the matter: as soon as *Friday* came in sight of the man, he halloo'd as loud as t'other, *O Master! O Master!* But like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the man, and with his pistol shot the wolf that attack'd him, into the head.

It was happy for the poor man, that it was my man *Friday*; for he, having been us'd to that kind of creatures in his country, had no fear upon him, but went close up to him, and shot him, as above; whereas any of us would have fir'd at a farther distance, and have perhaps either mis'd the wolf, or endanger'd shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrify'd a bolder man than I, and indeed it alarmed all our company, when, with the noise of *Friday's* pistol, we heard on both sides the dismallest howling of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and perhaps indeed there were not such a few, as that we had no cause of apprehensions.

However, as *Friday* had kill'd this wolf, the other, that had fastened upon the horse, left him immediately, and fled, having happily fastened upon his head where the bosses of the bridle had stuck in his teeth, so that he had not done him much hurt: The man, indeed, was most hurt: For the raging creature had bit him

twice, once on the arm, and the other time a little above his knee; and he was just as it were tumbling down by the disorder of the horse, when *Friday* came up, and shot the wolf.

It is easy to suppose, that at the noise of *Friday's* pistol we all mended our pace, and rid up as fast as the way (which was very difficult) would give us leave, to see what was the matter: As soon as we came clear of the trees, which blinded us before, we saw plainly what had been the case, and how *Friday* had disengaged the poor guide; though we did not presently discern what kind of creature it was he had killed.

But never was a fight managed so hardily, and in such a surprising manner, as that which followed between *Friday* and the bear, which gave us all (though at first we were surprised and afraid for him) the greatest diversion imaginable: As the bear is an heavy, clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, which is swift and light; so he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions: *First*, As to men, who are not his proper prey, I say, not his proper prey, because, tho' I can't say what excessive hunger might do, which was now their case, the ground being all covered with snow; yet as to men, he does not usually attempt them, unless they first attack him: On the contrary, if you meet him in the woods, tho' if you don't meddle with him, he won't meddle with you; yet then you must take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road; for he is a very nice gentleman, he won't go a step out of the way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way, and keep, going on;

for sometimes, if you stop, and stand still, and look stedfastly at him, he takes it for an affront; but if you throw or toss any thing at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of stick as big as your finger he takes it for an affront, and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge; for he will have satisfaction in point of honour, and this is his first quality: The next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you night or day, till he has his revenge, but follow at a good round rate till he overtakes you.

My man *Friday* had delivered our guide, and when we came up to him, he was helping him off from his horse: for the man was both hurt and frightened, and indeed the last more than the first; when, on a sudden, we spy'd the bear come out of the wood, and a vast monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that ever I saw: We were all a little surpris'd when we saw him; but when *Friday* saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance: *O! O! O!* says *Friday*, three times, pointing to him, *O master! You give me te leave, me sbakee te hand with him, me makee you good laugh.*

I was surpris'd to see the fellow so pleas'd; *you fool you*, said I, *he will eat you up: Eatee me up! eatee me up!* says *Friday*, twice over again; *me eatee him up: Me makee you good laugh: You all stay here, me shew you good laugh.* So down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear) and which he had in his pocket, gives my other servant his horse, and, with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offer'd to med-

gle with noboy, till *Friday*, coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the bear could understand him: *Hark ye, bark ye.* says *Friday*, *me speakee wit you*: We followed at a distance; for now being come down to the *Gascoigne* side of the mountains, we were entered a vast great forest, where the country was plain, and pretty open, tho' many trees in it scattered here-and-there.

Friday, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone, and throws at him, and hit him just on the head; but did him no more harm, than if he had thrown it against a wall; but it answered *Friday's* end; for the rogue was so void of fear, that he did it purely to make the bear follow him, and shew us some laugh, as he called it.

As soon as the bear felt the stone, and saw him, he turns about, and comes after him, taking devilish long strides, and shuffling along at a strange rate, so as would put an horse to a middling gallop away runs *Friday*, and takes his course, as if he ran towards us for help; so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man, though I was angry at him heartily for bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his own business another way; and especially I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then run away; and I called out, *You dog, said I, is this your making us laugh? Come away, and take your horse, that we may shoot the creature.* He hears me, and cries out, *No shoot, no shoot, stand still, you get much laugh*: And as the nimble creature ran two feet for the beast's one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great oak-tree, fit for his

purpose, he beckoned us to follow, and, doubling his pace, he gets nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree.

The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance; the first thing he did, he stopt at the gun, smelt to it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrously heavy: I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see any thing to laugh at yet, till, seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was *Friday* got out to the small of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him: As soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker, *ha*, says he to us, *now you see me teachee the bear dance*: so he falls a jumping, and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back: then indeed we did laugh heartily: But *Friday* had not done with him by a great deal; when he sees him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak *English*, *What, you no come farther? Pray you come farther*. So he left jumping and shaking the bough; and the bear, just as if he had understood what he said, did come a litle farther; then he fell a jumping again, and the bear stopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and called to *Friday* to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, O

pray! O pray! no shoot, me shoot by and then; he would have said *by-and-by*. However, to shorten the story, *Friday* danc'd so much, and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and where the jest would be at last.

But *Friday* put us out of doubt quickly: for seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he would not be persuaded to come any farther; *Well, well,* said *Friday*: *you no come farther, me go, me go; you no come to me, me come to you:* and upon this he goes out to the smallest end of the bough, where it should bend with his weight, and gently lets himself down by it sliding down the bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he ran to his gun, takes it up and stands still.

Well, said I to him, *Friday*, What will you do now? Why don't you shoot him? *No shoot,* says *Friday*, *no yet, me shoot now, me no kill; me stay, give you one more laugh;* and indeed so he did, as you will see presently; for when the bear saw his enemy gone, he comes back from the bough where he stood, but did it mighty leisurely, looking behind him every step, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree: then, with the same hinder end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely; at this juncture, and just before he could set his hind feet upon the ground, *Friday* step-

ped close to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and shot him dead as a stone.

Then the rogue turn'd about, to see if we did not laugh ; and when he saw we were pleas'd by our looks, he falls a laughing himself very loud : *So we kill bear in my country*, says *Friday* ; so you kill them, said I, why you have no guns : *No*, says he, *no gun, but shoot great much long arrow*.

This was, indeed, a good diversion to us ; but we were still in a wild place and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew ; the howling of wolves ran much in my head ; and indeed, except the noise I once heard on the shore of *Africa*, of which I have said something already, I never heard any thing that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as *Friday* would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving ; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide hasten'd us ; so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, tho' not so deep and dangerous as on the mountains ; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest, and plain country, press'd by hunger, to seek for food ; and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages, where they surpris'd the country-people, killed a great many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We had one dangerous place to pass, of which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there ; and this was a

small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sun-set when we entered the first wood; and a little after sun-set when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that in a little plain within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed one after another, as if they had been in chace of some prey, and had it in view; they took no notice of us, and were gone, and out of our sight, in a few moments.

Upon this our guide, who, by the way, was a wretched faint-hearted fellow, bade us keep in a ready posture; for he believed there were more wolves coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us; but we saw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain; as soon as we came into the plain, we had occasion enough to look about us; the first object we met with, was a dead horse; that is to say, a poor horse which the wolves had killed, and at least a dozen of them at work; we could not say eating of him, but picking of his bones rather; for they had eaten up all the flesh before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their feast, neither did they take much notice of us; *Friday* would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any means; for I found we were like to have more business upon our hands than we were aware of. We

were not half gone over the plain, but we began to hear the wolves howl in the wood on our left, in a frightful manner; and presently after we saw about an hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and most of them in a line, as regularly as an army drawn up by experienced officers: I scarce knew in what manner to receive them; but found, to draw ourselves in a close line, was the only way: So we formed in a moment: But, that we might not have too much interval, I ordered, that only every other man should fire; and that the others, who had not fired, should stand ready to give them a second volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us; and that then those who had fired at first, should not pretend to load their fusiis again, but stand read, with every one a pistol, for we were all armed with a fusil, and a pair of pistols, each man; so we were by this method able to fire six volleys, half of us at a time: however, at present we had no necessity; for, upon firing the first volley, the enemy made a full stop, being terrified, as well with the noise, as with the fire; four of them, being shot in the head, dropped; several others were wounded, and went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow: I found they stopped, but did not immediately retreat; whereupon, remembring that I had been told, that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I caused all our company to hallob as loud as we could, and I found the notion not altogether mistaken; for, upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about; then I ordered a second volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again, and that we might lose no time, we kept doing; but we had but little more than loaded our fufils, and put ourselves into a readinefs, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood, on our left; only that it was farther onward the same way we were to go.

The night was coming on, and the night began to be dusky, which made it the worse on our side; but, the noise increasing, we could easily perceive, that it was the howling and yelling of those hellish creatures; and, on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves, one on our left, one behind us, and one on our front; so that we seemed to be surrounded with them; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough, was only a good large trot; -and in this manner we only came in view of the entrance of the wood, through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain; but we were greatly surpris'd, when, coming near the lane, or pass, we saw a confus'd number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun; and, looking that way, our rushed an horse, with a saddle and a bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him full speed; indeed the horse had the heels of them; but as we suppose, that he could not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last; and no question but they did.

Here we had a most horrible sight; for, riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcase of another horse, and of two men devoured by

the ravenous creatures, and one of the men was no doubt the same whom we heard fire the gun; for there lay a gun just by him fir'd off; but, as to the man, his head, and the upper part of his body, were eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take; but the creatures resolved us soon; for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them: it happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a little way from it, there lay some large timber-trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage: I drew my little troop in among these trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree I advised them all to alight, and, keeping that tree before us, for a breast-work, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, inclosing our horses in the centre.

We did so, and it was well we did; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place: they came on us with a growling kind of a noise, and mounted the piece of timber (which, as I said, was our breast-work,) as if they were only rushing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasion'd by their seeing our horses behind us, which was the prey they aimed at: I ordered our men to fire as before, every other man; and they took their aim so sure, that indeed they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came on like devils, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired our second volley of our fustils,

we thought they stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off, but it was but a moment, for others came forward again; so we fir'd our volleys of our pistols, and I believe, in these four firing, we killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many; yet they came on again.

I was loth to spend our last shot too hastily; so I call'd my servant, not my man *Friday*, for he was better employed; for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he charged my fusil, and his own, while we were engaged; but, as I said, I called my other man; and, giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train, all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train; he did so, and had but just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some were got up upon it; when I, snapping an uncharged pistol, close to the powder, set it on fire; and those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire; we dispatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night, for now it was very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon which I order'd our last pistols to be fir'd off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout; upon this, the wolves turn'd tail, and we sally'd immediately upon near twenty lame ones, which we found struggling on the ground, and fell a cutting them with our swords; which answer'd our expectation; for the crying and howling they made were better understood by their fellows; so that they fled, and left us.

Whe had, first and last, kill'd about threescore of

them; and had it been day-light, we had kill'd many more: the field of battle being thus clear'd, we made forward again; for we had still near a league to go: we heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods as we went, several times; and sometimes we fancied we saw some of them, but the snow dazzling our eyes we were not certain; so in about an hour more, we came to the town, where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms; for it seems, that, the night before, the wolves and some bears had broken into that village, and put them in a terrible fright; and they were oblig'd to keep guard night and day, but especially in the night to preserve their cattle, and indeed their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs so swell'd with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no farther; so we were oblig'd to take a new guide there, and go to *Tholouse*, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or any thing like them; but when we told our story at *Tholouse*, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground: but they inquir'd much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season; and told us, it was very much we were not all devour'd: When we told them how we plac'd ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blam'd us exceedingly, and told us, it was fifty to one but we had been all destroy'd; for it was the sight of the horses that made the wolves so furious, seeing their prey; and that at other times they are really afraid of a gun;

but they being excessive hungry, and raging on that account, the eagerness to come at the horses had made them senseless of danger; and that if we had not by the continued fire, and at last by the stratagem of the train of powder master'd them, it had been great odds but that we had been torn to pieces; whereas, had we been content to have sat still on horseback, and fir'd as horsemen, they would not have taken the horses so much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwise; and withal they told us, that at last, if we had stood all together, and left our horses, they would have been so eager to have devour'd them, that we might have come off safe, especially having our fire-arms in our hands and being so many in number.

For my part, I was never so sensible of danger in my life; for seeing above three hundred devils come roaring and open-mouth'd to devour us, and having nothing to shelter us, or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost; and as it was, I believe, I shall never care to cross those mountains again; I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I were sure to meet with a storm once a week.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of, in my passage through *France*; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, with much more advantage than I can; I travell'd from *Tbolouse* to *Paris*, and without any considerable stay came to *Calais*, and landed safe at *Dover*, the fourteenth of *January*, after having had a severe cold season to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had in a little time all my new discover'd estate safe about me, the bills of exchange, which I brought with me having been very currently paid.

My principal guide, and privy counsellor, was my good antient widow, who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me; and I trusted her so intirely with every thing, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects; and indeed I was very happy from my beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and setting out for *Lisbon*, and so to the *Brasils*: but now another scruple came in the way, and that was religion; for as I had entertained some doubts about the *Roman* religion, even while I was abroad, especially in my state of solitude; so I knew there was no going to the *Brasils* for me, much less going to settle there, unless I resolved to embrace the *Roman* catholic religion, without any reserve; except on the other hand I resolved to be a sacrifice to my principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the inquisition; so I resolved to stay at home, and, if I could find means for it, to dispose of my plantation.

To this purpose I wrote to my old friend at *Lisbon*, who in return gave me notice, that he could easily dispose of it there: but that if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees who lived in the *Brasils*, who must fully understand the value of it, who lived just upon the spot, and whom I knew to be very rich, so that he believed they would be fond of buying it; he did not doubt, but I should make 4 or 5000 pieces of eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him orders to offer it

to them, and he did so; and, in about eight months more, the ship being then return'd, he sent me an account, that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted 33,000 pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at *Lisbon*, to pay for it.

In return, I signed the instrument of sale in the form which they sent from *Lisbon*, and sent it to my old man, who sent me the bills of exchange for 32,800 pieces of eight for the estate; reserving the payment of 100 moidores a year to him, the old man, during his life, and 50 moidores afterwards to his son for his life, which I had promised them; and which the plantation was to make good as a rent-charge. And thus I have given the first part of a life of fortune and adventure, a life of providence's chequer-work, and of a variety which the world will seldom be able to shew the like of: beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than any part of it ever gave me leave so much as to hope for.

Any one would think, that in this state of complicated good fortune, I was past running any more hazards; and so indeed I had been, if other circumstances had concurred; but I was inur'd to a wandering life, had no family, nor many relations; nor, however rich, had I contracted much acquaintance; and tho' I had sold my estate in the *Brasils*, yet I could not keep that country out of my head, and had a great mind to be upon the wing again; especially I could not resist the strong inclination I had to see my island, and to know if the poor *Spāniards* were in being there; and how the rogues I left there had used them.

My true friend the widow earnestly dissuaded me

from it, and so far prevail'd with me, that almost for seven years she prevented my running abroad ; during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care: the eldest, having something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate after my decease ; the other I put out to a captain of a ship; and after five years, finding him a sensible, bold enterprising young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea : and this young fellow afterwards drew me in, as old as I was, to farther adventures myself.

In the mean time, I in part settled myself here: for, first of all I marry'd, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction ; and had three children, two sons and one daughter : but my wife dying, and my nephew coming home with good success from a voyage to *Spain*, my inclination to go abroad, and his importunity, prevail'd, and engaged me to go in his ship as a private trader to the *East-Indies* ; this was in the year 1694.

In this voyage I visited my new colony in the island, saw my successors the *Spaniards*, had the whole story of their lives, and of the villains I left there ; how at first they insulted the poor *Spaniards*, how they afterwards agreed, disagreed, united, separated, and how at last the *Spaniards* were obliged to use violence with them; how they were subjected to the *Spaniards*; how honestly the *Spaniards* used them; an history, if it were entered into, as full of variety and wonderful accidents, as my own part ; particularly also as to their battles with the *Caribbeans*, who landed several

times upon the island, and as to the improvement they made upon the island itself; and how five of them made an attempt upon the main land, and brought away eleven men and five women prisoners; by which, at my coming, I found about twenty young children on the island.

Here I staid about twenty days, left them supplies of all necessary things, and particularly of arms, powder, shot, cloaths, tools, and two workmen, which I brought from *England* with me; viz. a carpenter and a smith.

Besides this, I shar'd the island into parts with them, reserv'd to myself the property of the whole, but gave them such parts, respectively, as they agreed on; and, having settled all things with them, and engaged them not to leave the place, I left them there.

From thence I touch'd at the *Brasils*, from whence I sent a bark, which I bought there, with more people, to the island; and in it, besides other supplies, I sent seven women, being such as I found proper for service, or for wives to such as would take them: as to the *Englishmen*, I promised them to send them some women from *England*, with a good cargo of necessaries, if they would apply themselves to planting, which I afterwards could not perform: the fellows proved very honest and diligent, after they were master'd, and had their properties set apart for them. I sent them also from the *Brasils* five cows, three of them being big with calf, some sheep, and some hogs, which, when I came again, were considerably increased.

But all these things, with an account how 300 *Caribbees* came and invaded them, and ruin'd their plantati-

ons, and how they fought with that whole number twice, and were at first defeated, and one of them kill'd; but at last a storm destroying their enemies canoes, they famish'd or destroy'd almost all the rest, and renew'd and recovered the possession of their plantation, and still liv'd upon the island.

All these things, with some very surprising incidents in some new adventures of my own, for ten years more, I may, perhaps give a farther account of hereafter:

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

